THE MONTH

A Catholic Magazine and Review.

JANUARY, 1893.

CONTENTS.

I.	THE NEW APOCRYPHA. By the Rev. Herbert Lucas	1	
2.	THE ZAMBESI MISSION	16	
3.	How 'The Church of England Washed Her Face.' By the Rev. Sydney F. Smith		
1.	THE MONITA SECRETA AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. By the	33	
7	Rev. John Rickaby	51	
5.	THE ASSUNTA OF GOZO	57	
6.	THE DIVINE OFFICE IN THE GREEK CHURCH. Part I. By		
	the Rev. B. Zimmerman, O.C.D	72	
7.	THE TEMPORARY STAR IN AURIGA. By the Rev. Aloysius L.		
	Cortie, F.R.A.S.	88	
8.	A MIXED MARRIAGE. The Second Phase. By the Lady Amabel		
	Kerr Chap. V.—Fetched Back. VI.—The Iron which enters the Soul. VII.—The Two Dark Years. VIII.—Reconciliation.	108	
	REVIEWS 1. Christianty and Infallibility—Both or Neither. By the Rev. Daniel Lyons. 2. The Manna of the Soul. By Father Paul Segneri, S.J. 3. Auguste Comte. Sa Vie et Sa Doctrine. By R. P. Grüber, S.J. 4. American Catholics and the Roman Question. By Mgr. Schroeder, D.D. 5. History of Peru. By Clement R. Markham. 6. The Child Countess. By Mrs. William Maude. 7. Manual of Church History. Vol. II. By the Rev. T. Gilmartin. 8. Lines of Thought and Thoughts in Lines. By Catharine Maude Nichols, F.R.P.E.		
	LITERARY RECORD	143	

LONDON:

OFFICE OF THE MONTH: MANRESA PRESS, ROEHAMPTON.

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES. DUBLIN: M. H. GILL AND SON. BALTIMORE: JOHN MURPHY AND CO.

Price Two Shillings.

All rights of translation and reproduction reserved

THE CREAT BLOOD **PURIFIER** AND

RESTORER.

"FOR THE BLOOD IS THE LIFE"

LARGEST SALE OF ANY MEDICINE IN THE WORLD.

The Great Blood Purifler and Restorer. For Cleansing and Clearing the Blood from all impurities, it cannot be too highly recommended.

For Scrofula, Scurvy, Eczema, Skin and Blood Diseases, Pimples and Sores of all kinds, it is a never-failing and permanent cure.

It Cures Old Sores.
Cures Sores on the Neck.
Cures Sore Legs.
Cures Pimples on the Face.

Cures Scurvy. Cures Eczema. It Cures Ulcers. Cures Blood and Skin Diseases. Cures Glandular Swellings. Clears the Blood from all Impure matter

It is the only real specific for Gout and Rheumatic Pains. It removes the cause from the blood and bones.

As this mixture is pleasant to the taste, and warranted free from anything injurious to the most delicate constitution of either sex, from infancy to old age, the Proprietors solicit sufferers to give it a trial to test its value.

Important Advice to all.—Cleanse the vitiated blood whenever you find its impurities bursting through the skin in pimples, eruptions, and sores; cleanse it when you find it obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it when it is found—your feelings will tell you when. Keep your blood pure, and the healt of the system will follow.

Sold in Bottles 2s. 9d. each, and in cases containing Six times the quantity, IIs., sufficient to effect a permanent cure in the great majority of long-standing cases. BY ALL CHEMISTS AND PATENT MEDICINE VENDORS throughout the world, or sent to any address on receipt of 33 or 132 stamps by the Proprietors, THE LINCOLN & MIDLAND COUNTIES' DRUG COMPANY, LINCOLN.

TRADE MARK, "BLOOD MIXTURE." Ask for CLARKE'S World-Famed ELCOD MIXTURE, and do not be persuaded to take an imitation.

THE UNIVERSAL HOUSEHOLD REMEDIES!!!

These excellent FAMILY MEDICINES are invaluable in the treatment of all ailments incidental to every HOUSEHOLD. The PILLS PURIFY, REGULATE, and STRENGTHEN the whole system, while the OINTMENT is unequalled for the cure of Bad Legs, Bad Breasts, Old Wounds, Sores and Ulcers. Possessed of these REMEDIES, every Mother has at once the means of curing most complaints to which herself or Family is liable.

N.B.-Advice Gratis at 78, New Oxford Street, late 533, Oxford Street, London, daily between the hours of 11 and 4, or by letter.

ZAEHNSDORF, BOOKBINDER,

Cambridge Works, 144 & 146, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

(FOR FIFTY YEARS AT CATHERINE STREET, STRAND.)

Artistic Bindings to any Design.

BOOKS BOUND IN VELVET, SILK, OR WORKED MATERIAL.

Library Bindings in Cloth, Half Calf, or Half Morocco.

SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO BOOKS WITH PLATES,

MISSALS AND ALTAR BOOKS STRONGLY BOUND.

Abedals. - DUBLIN, 1865.

PARIS, 1867.

VIENNA, 1873.

Exclusively Clerical Tailors.

The only House in England which is conversant with the Roman formula in respect to the canonical dress of the Catholic Hierarchy.

Berners Street, London, W.





The New Apocrypha.1

WE hasten to welcome the appearance, in an English edition, of the newly-recovered fragments of the apocryphal Gospel according to Peter, and of the no less apocryphal Apocalypse of Peter. We say newly-recovered, though indeed the term calls for some limitation. The manuscript volume containing the "Gospel" and the "Apocalypse," or rather fragments of each, was found in a Christian tomb at Akhmîm, in Upper Egypt, as long ago as the winter of 1886–87; and the tardiness with which the French Archæological School at Cairo have at last made known their find, stands in somewhat amusing contrast to the prompt production of a critical recension of the text, together with two expository lectures thereon, by the Cambridge editors, Mr. J. Armitage Robinson and Mr. M. R. James.

The actual MS. goes back no further than the eighth century, but it is manifestly a transcript from much older documents, and there is no serious reason to doubt that it faithfully represents the original text of the "Gospel" and "Apocalypse" respectively. In the following pages we shall confine our attention to the Gospel, which is on many grounds by far the more interesting of the two.

The earliest and indeed the only detailed mention of the Gospel according to Peter which occurs in extant Christian literature, is contained in a letter of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch from A.D. 190 to A.D. 203, which has been preserved by Eusebius.² The Bishop, writing to the Church of Rhossus in Cilicia, mentions that on some previous occasion he had

¹ The Gospel according to Peter, and The Revelation of Peter; two Lectures on the newly-discovered Fragments, together with the Greek Text. By J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., and Montague Rhodes James, M.A. London: C. J. Clay, 1892. On one or two points we are indebted to a very able article on "The Gospel of Peter," by Mr. A. H. Headlam, in the Guardian of Dec. 7.

² H. E. vi. 12.

found in use there a Gospel falsely ascribed to St. Peter; that at first he had judged it best to tolerate this, but that afterwards, being informed that the document was of a dangerous tendency, he had procured a copy and had examined it himself. The result of his examination was that he found it infected with the errors of "those whom we call Docetæ," though most of it, he admitted, "belongs to the right teaching of the Saviour." One sentence in the letter, which is unfortunately corrupt and unintelligible, connects the Gospel with the name of one Marcianus (or Marcion), who may

possibly be the well-known heresiarch.1

A single reference to the Gospel of Peter occurs in the writings of Origen, who says that, according to this document, the "brothers of Jesus" were sons of Joseph by a first marriage.2 Theodoret tells us that the Gospel of Peter was in use among the sect of the Nazarenes;3 and Eusebius and St. Jerome mention it, without however giving it any prominence, among other apocryphal books.4 And this is the sum of the information which we have concerning it. In the light of these meagre notices we may now give some account of the contents of the newly-recovered fragment. It contains the history of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of our Lord, from the incident of Pilate's washing his hands down to the departure of Peter, Andrew, Matthew, and others, for the Lake of Gennesareth after the Resurrection. For the most part, the narrative is nothing but a more or less clumsy patchwork made up of shreds from our four canonical Gospels, a patchwork, however, in which the order of events is jumbled up in a somewhat bewildering fashion. It will therefore only be necessary to indicate some of those passages in which the pseudo-Evangelist, whether in the interests of his heretical opinions or for any other reason, departs from the true Gospel narrative. The MS. begins quite abruptly:

¹ 'Ημεῖς δὲ ἀδελφοί καταλαβόμενοὶ ὁποίας ἢν αἰρέσεως ὁ Μαρκιανὸς, καὶ ἑαντῷ ἢναντιοῦτο μὴ νοῶν ἃ ἐλάλει, ἃ μαθήσεοθε ἐξ-ὧν ὑμῶν ἐγράφη. If we may judge from Mr. Robinson's rendering of the Armenian version of this passage (p. 14), we ought to read ὑμεῖς for ἡμεῖς, and to insert ὡς before ἑαντῷ. But even this does not make the passage quite clear. The Armenian (says Mr. Robinson) reads Marcion instead of Marcianus.

² In Matth. x. 17; Hilgenfeld, N. T. extra Can. Rec. iv. 40.

³ De Hær. Fab. ii. 2. If Theodoret was, as we believe, in error here (for the Nazarenes were a Judaising sect, and the Petrine fragment is strongly anti-Judaic), it was not the only mistake which he made concerning apocryphal books.

⁴ H.E. iii. 3, iii. 25; Hieron. De Vir. Ill. c. i.

§ 1. None of the Jews were able to wash their hands, though they desired to do so, but only Pilate. (Here, at the outset, appears the strong aversion of the writer to the Jewish people.)

Ibid. Herod orders the execution of our Lord. (Herod is represented as superior in authority to Pilate, and the responsibility for our Lord's Death is thrown upon him.)

§ 2. Joseph of Arimathea comes to Pilate to beg the Body of Jesus (before the Crucifixion); and Pilate in his turn begs it of Herod.

§ 3. They set Jesus (in derision) on the judgment-seat, and say to Him: "Judge justly, O King of Israel." (This is the most remarkable point of contact between the Gospel of Peter and St. Justin. The matter will be discussed below.)

§ 4. During the Crucifixion Jesus is silent, "as feeling no pain."

(This is the first distinctive mark of "Docetism" in the fragment.)

Ibid. One of the thieves rebukes, not his companion, but the crowd, whose insults, however, are not recorded.

Ibid. The Jews desire that His legs be not broken, that He may die in greater agony.²

§ 5. But when the darkness came on, then, fearing that the sun was setting, and lest He should die before nightfall, they gave Him vinegar and gall (apparently to hasten His death.)³

Ibid. The Lord cried out: "My power, My power, Thou hast forsaken Me!" (or "Hast Thou forsaken Me?") And having said this He was taken up.4

§ 6. When Jesus, taken down from the Cross, was laid upon the ground, the earth quaked, the sun shone again, and it was found to be the ninth hour.

§ 7. Then the Jews, seeing what mischief they had brought upon themselves, began to strike their breasts and say: "Woe to us for our sins, the judgment and the end of Jerusalem is at hand."

 1 ως μηδένα πόνον έχων. 2 ὅπως βασανιζόμενος ἀποθάνοι.

³ The darkness "covered all Judæa," and was so dense that "many went about with lamps, thinking it was night, and fell down." A strangely misplaced reminiscence, as it would seem, of St. John xviii. 3, 6, and also perhaps of Isaias viii. 21 or lix. 10. (Robinson, p. 20.)

4 Were we to attend merely to the grammar of this passage, we should have to understand that the *speaker* was taken up. But having regard to the known teaching of the Cerinthian and Valentinian sects, we believe the real meaning to be that after this cry of the *human* Jesus, the Divine Power, whom Jesus had just invoked, was withdrawn and was taken up to Heaven, whence it had descended on Him at His baptism. The form of the cry is closely related to Aquila's rendering of the opening words of the Twenty-first Psalm, as recorded by Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* x. 8; $l\sigma\chi\nu\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\sigma\nu$, $l\sigma\chi\nu\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\sigma\nu$, $l\sigma\chi\nu\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\sigma\nu$, $l\sigma\chi\nu\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\sigma\nu$). But we doubt whether Mr. Robinson (to whom we owe the reference) is right in thinking that Eusebius approved this translation in a somewhat modified form ($l\sigma\chi\nu$ $\mu\sigma\nu$, $l\sigma\chi\nu$ $\mu\sigma\nu$). We fancy rather that Eusebius is arguing *ex hypothesi*. Mr. Robinson quotes, very much to the purpose, St. Justin's explanation of the name Israel (*Dial.* c. 125), $\tau\nu$ δ δ $\hbar\lambda$ δύνα $\mu\nu$ s.

§ 8. The chiefs of the Jews, having obtained from Pilate the centurion Petronius and a guard, themselves also (it would seem) kept watch by the tomb, pitching a tent there.

This may be sufficient for a specimen, though there is much that is of interest in the writer's strange story of the Resurrection. But how, it may be asked, could such a "deprayed, halting, and distorted" narrative - to use the epithets applied by St. Epiphanius to another apocryphal fragment1-how could such a narrative have been described by Serapion as for the most part "belonging to the right teaching of the Saviour"? Can this be a portion of the Petrine Gospel which that Bishop found in use at Rhossus? It must indeed be admitted that, if it is so, the judgment of Serapion is somewhat unduly lenient, and is not exactly that which would have been passed by Irenæus or Epiphanius. But it must be remembered that throughout the greater part of the Gospel history there would be much less temptation to deprave and distort than in the story of the Sacred Passion. Moreover, the Bishop had every motive to spare as far as possible the feelings of the Christians of Rhossus, who in using this Gospel had perhaps acted rather in ignorance than out of a conscious leaning towards heretical doctrines. And so far as concerns the Docetic character of the Gospel, the specimen we have given agrees well enough, as we shall presently see, with Serapion's description. We may then assume that we have before us a portion of that same Gospel according to Peter of which Serapion wrote.2

Now the chief interest of this apocryphal fragment lies in the testimony which it bears to the genuineness of our canonical Gospels. In the words of Mr. Robinson, the writer "uses and misuses each in turn. To him they all stand on an equal footing. He lends no support to the attempt which has been made to place a gulf of separation between the fourth Gospel and the rest as regards the period or area of their acceptance as canonical."

¹ Hær. xxx. 14 (after quoting a passage from the "Gospel according to the Hebrews").

² Mr. Headlam writes: "In dealing with apocryphal writings there is always a very great difficulty in coming to a certain and definite conclusion. Their text was not protected by any feeling of respect; every copyist felt at liberty to alter what he did not approve of. . . . But good criticism," he adds, "will not needlessly multiply documents." (l.c. p. 1883 c.)

P. 23.

Had Mr. Robinson chosen to append a marginal reference to every expression and statement in pseudo-Peter which is manifestly based on the canonical Gospels, his margins would have been filled to overflowing. But he has chosen the wiser course of restricting his references to one class of instances which are of special interest. These are the cases in which the self-constituted Evangelist has employed phraseology or narrated facts which are peculiar to one (whichever it may be) of our four Gospels. This arrangement makes it easy to see almost at a glance that in some half-dozen instances within the limits of the fragment the apocryphal Gospel is indebted to St. Matthew alone, in about as many more to St. Mark, in nine to St. Luke, while in not less than a dozen places the author uses language or mentions facts which are peculiar to the much-abused fourth Gospel. If we speak with confidence of his having drawn upon our Evangelists, it is because not even the most declared enemy of Revelation or of the authenticity of our Gospels would venture on the conjecture that the inverse relation might possibly be the true one, and that this grotesque travesty might after all be the source to which the Synoptists and the author of the fourth Gospel were themselves indebted.

The bearing, however, of this pseudo-Petrine fragment on the authenticity of our Gospels must of course depend in great measure upon the determination of its date. If it should turn out that no higher antiquity can be claimed for it than for the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, the value of its added testimony would be very much like the value of a candle lighted in broad daylight, so immeasurably clearer is the witness of the Tatianic Harmony.¹ But if it could, with anything approaching to certainty, be ascribed to the first or even the second quarter of the second century, then its witness, as carrying us back ten or twenty or even thirty years beyond Tatian, must be regarded as precious indeed.

It is then necessary to inquire what evidence, if any, is forthcoming which may help to determine the age of the document. The mere fact that it was in use at Rhossus during the last decade of the second century, is not of itself sufficient to justify us in assigning to its origin an earlier date than

We speak here only of the direct witness of the fragment. Its indirect bearing on the whole question of Gospel criticism cannot fail to be of interest, whatever may be the date to which it may be assigned.

A.D. 160—175. It will, however, be remembered that Serapion describes the Gospel as characterized by the errors of the Docetæ, and it is in the right interpretation of this expression that the key to the position must be sought. Who then were the Docetæ, what did they teach, and when did they chiefly flourish? The use of the name Docetæ to designate a class of heretics is extremely rare. Not only does it nowhere occur in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers or of St. Justin, but it is nowhere employed by Irenæus, Eusebius, or Philastrius, in their accounts of the early heresies; though it must be admitted that they not unfrequently made use of cognate expressions.¹

The actual name occurs in four places only, viz., once in Serapion (l.c.), twice in Hippolytus, and once in Theodoret (once also, implicitly, in Clement of Alexandria), with, however, considerable difference of meaning. Theodoret, the latest of the writers whom we have named, uses the word as a generic term wide enough to include alike Marcionites, Valentinians, and Manichæans; but it would not be safe to argue from the phraseology of the fifth century to that of the second.² Going back to earlier times, we find that Clement of Alexandria speaks of one Julius Cassianus as having been the founder or head of a sect so named, the doctrines which he attributes to him being those of the Encratites, who condemned matrimony and professed to look askance upon every gratification of the senses.3 St. Jerome describes this same Cassianus as having "brought in" the doctrine that our Lord had only a putative or phantasmal body, a tenet which is of course aptly expressed by the term Docetism, though St. Jerome does not use it.4

On the other hand, the *Docetæ* spoken of by Hippolytus appear to have held that our Lord had two bodies, one material, born of the Virgin Mary, the other spiritual and impassible,

 2 Ep. Ixxxii. οη τν Μαρκίωνος και Βαλεντίνου και Μάνητος και τῶν ἄλλων Δοκιτῶν αἴρεσιν . . ἀνανεούμευοι, κτλ.

3 Strom. iii. B. δ της δοκήσεως εξάρχων Ἰούλιος Κασσιανός.

¹ Viz. of the noun δόκησιs and of the adjective and adverb putativus, putative (i.e., κατὰ δόκησιν). The reader will remember that we possess the greater part of St. Irenæus' great work only in a Latin translation.

^{4 &}quot;Cassianus [some, however, read Tatianus] qui putativam Christi carnem introducens omnem conjunctionem . . . immundam arbitrantur" (in Gal. vi. 8). The word "introducens" here must, we think, be understood of an argumentative "bringing in" of the false dogma, to support a bad cause. The error itself was much older than Cassianus, who seems to have lived towards the close of the second century.

wherewith the material body was "sealed" at the time of the Baptism in the Jordan; and that at the time of the Passion He stripped off and abandoned His material body, leaving it to be nailed to the Cross, and so by means of it "triumphed over principalities and powers." In view of this variety of meaning in writers two centuries earlier than Theodoret, we can have no difficulty in supposing that Serapion may have used the term to designate the doctrine, closely allied to that described by Hippolytus, which seems to have been held by the writer of the "Gospel of Peter." The Lord, says that writer. "was silent because He felt no pain," that is to say, He did not suffer so long as Christ, the Divine power, dwelt with Him. But as He hung upon the Cross the human Jesus became conscious that this Divine power was about to leave Him. Hence the cry, "My power, My power, hast thou forsaken Me?" And at that moment the Christ was withdrawn, and so Jesus died.

The question then which we have to determine is whether there are sufficient grounds for assigning the origin or the prevalence of this particular doctrine, in the form which it assumes in the Petrine Gospel, to any assignable period within the limits of the second century.

So far as concerns the Christology of the Petrine Gospel, considered apart from its surroundings, there is no doubt that its teaching may, as Mr. Robinson says,² "be traced back even to Cerinthus, the opponent of St. John," and the description of the Cerinthian Christology given by St. Irenæus and St. Epiphanius is in close harmony with the expressions used by the pseudo-Evangelist.³ But there is this insuperable

¹ Ref. Hær. (Philosophumena), viii. 3, cf. x. 12. "Hippolytus," says Mr. Robinson, "suggested that the Docetæ was well named because they had a δόκοs, or beam of timber, in their eye. A more charitable philology derives their name from δοκεῦν, "to seem." (p. 15.) It is needless to say that Hippolytus did not intend his derivation seriously. He merely puns on the word. Any heretics who taught that the true Christ did not truly suffer, might appropriately be called Docetæ. But this "might be" does not exonerate us from the duty of inquiring what was the actual use of the term.

² P. 32

^{3 &}quot;Cerinthus . . . docuit Jesum fuisse Joseph et Mariæ filium, et post baptismum descendisse in eum Christum in figura columbæ; in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse et resurrexisse; Christem autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem." (Iren. Har. i. 26, 1; slightly abridged.) Epiphanius (Har. xxiii. i.) gives the same account, adding however a few details, e.g., κατεληλυθέναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς αὐτὸν [Ιησοῦν] τουτέστι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον· and again, ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν ἡ δύναμιε εἰς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν κτλ. Christ, then, is identified with the Holy Spirit, and is called ἡ δύναμιε, an expression which obviously connects this doctrine with the cry of Jesus in pseudo-Peter, ἡ δύναμίς μου, ἡ δύναμιε, κατέλειψάς με.

difficulty against associating the Gospel of Peter with the school of Cerinthus, that the Gospel is as strongly marked by anti-Judaism as Cerinthus and his followers were attached to Jewish observances.¹

Yet if we pass by Cerinthus, a considerable interval passes before we find this doctrine of the divided Christ connected with any name among the heresiarchs of the second century. Carpocrates taught that our Lord was a mere man; Marcion and Saturnilus held that He had but a phantasmal or putative body; Basilides admitted that He had a material body, but taught that He was not crucified, Simon the Cyrenian having been put to death in His place. Valentinus put forward a cumbrous system, according to which our Lord was regarded as composed of four elements, two passible and two impassible, of which the latter came upon Him at His Baptism and left Him at the time of His Passion.

This is evidently nothing but a more elaborate form of the Cerinthian Christology; and St. Irenæus, whose work is chiefly directed against the system of Valentinus, more than once makes mention of certain unnamed heretics who appear to have held the doctrine of the divided Christ in its simpler form.⁶

4 Ibid. I. xxiv. 4; III. xvi. 1, &c.

5 "Dominum igitur nostrum ex quatuor iis compositum fuisse dicunt . . .; de spiritali, quod erat ab Achamoth, et de animali, quod erat de demiurgo; et de dispositione, quod erat factum inenarrabili arte; et de Salvatore, quod erat illa, quæ descendit, in illum, columba. Et hunc quidem impassibilem perseverasse . . . et propter hoc ablatum esse, cum traheretur ad Pilatum, illum qui depositus erat in

eum Spiritum Christi." (Ibid. I. vii. 2, et alibi passim.)

 $^{^{1}}$ Epiph. l.c. n. 2. ''Docet autem circumcidi et sabbatizare." (Philastr. $\mathit{Har}.$ xxxvi.)

² Iren. Har. I. xxv. I; Hippol. Ref. Har. vii. 20, &c.

³ Iren. Har. I. xxvii. 2; IV. xxxiii. 2; I. xxiv. 2, &c.

^{6 &}quot;Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo et impassibilem perseverasse Christum passum vero Jesum dicunt." (Hær. III. xi. 7.) "Alii rursum Jesum quidem ex Joseph et Maria natum dicunt, et in hunc descendisse Christum, qui de superioribus sit, sine carne et impassibilem existentem." (Ibid. n. 3.) "Sunt qui dicunt Jesum quidem receptaculum Christi fuisse, in quem desuper quasi columbam descendisse Christum, et cum indicasset innominabilem Patrem incomprehensibiliter et invisibiter intrasse in Pleroma." (Ibid. xvi. 1.) "Non ergo alterum filium hominis novit Evangelium nisi hunc qui ex Maria, qui et passus est; sed neque Christum avolantem ante passionem a Jesu." (Ibid. n. 5.) "Igitur omnes extra dispositionem sunt qui sub obtentu agnitionis alterum quidem Jesum intelligunt alterum autem Christum." (Ibid. n. 8.) "Si autem ipse non erat passurus sed avolaret a Jesu, quid et adhortabatur discipulos tollere crucem, et sequi se, quam ipse non tollebat secundum ipsos, sed relinquebat dispositionem passionis." (Ibid. xxiii. 5.) St. Irenæus nowhere explicitly mentions that particular form of the divisive error which supposes the Christ to have abandoned Jesus while He was already hanging on the Cross.

But whether the teaching of these nameless ones led up to the system of Valentinus, or whether they were but a section of the followers of that heresiarch, does not clearly appear. On a priori grounds it might seem probable that the simpler form of the error prepared the way for the more complex, but of this we cannot be certain; nor is the language of the Petrine fragment such as to exclude the tenets of full-blown Valentinianism, though it does not necessarily imply them.

As regards the anti-Judaistic tone of the fragment, this would seem to be sufficiently accounted for by the vehement anti-Judaism of Saturnilus and Basilides, which no doubt survived among certain sections at least of the Valentinians.¹ The followers of Saturnilus and Basilides, it should be added, seem to have flourished particularly in Pisidia and Cilicia.²

There would, however, seem to be good and sufficient grounds for dating the Gospel somewhat later than Valentinus himself, who flourished in the middle of the second century (circ. A.D. 140—150) and was a contemporary of St. Justin and of Tatian.³ For whereas Marcion is accused, not indeed of having put forth an apocryphal Gospel, but of having mutilated the Gospel of St. Luke,⁴ it is distinctly said of Valentinus that he accepted the Gospel narrative in its entirety, contenting himself with distorting its meaning.⁵ On the other hand, we are no less distinctly told, concerning some of the followers of Valentinus, that they added to the number of the Gospels; and this statement is put forward as a mark of their unmeasured audacity, as if

¹ According to Saturnilus the Messiah came to destroy the God of the Jews. (Iren. *Hær.* I. xxiv. 2; Hippol. *Ref. Hær.* vii. 16; Epiph. *Hær.* xxiii. 2.) The anti-Judaism of Basilides seems to have been slightly less pronounced. (Iren. *Hær.* Lc. n. 4, &c.)

² Saturnilus, at least, if not Basilides also, were of Antioch. (Hipp. Ref. Har. vii. 16; Epiph. Har. xxxiii. 1.) The reference for the statement about Pisidia and Cilicia we have unfortunately mislaid.

Firen. Har. III. iv. 3. "Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus, flourished under Pius, and remained till [the time of] Anicetus."

^{4 &}quot;Non Evangelium sed particulam Evangelii tradens." (Iren. Hær. I. xxvii. 2.) "Solus manifeste ausus est circumcidere Scripturas." (Ibid. n. 14.) "Marcion autem id quod est secundum Lucam circumcidens." (III. xi. 7. Cf. Epiph. Hær. xlii. 11, who specifies seventy-eight passages excised by Marcion.)

guam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra non stylo usus est... Valentinus autem pepercit; quoniam non ad materiam Scripturas sed materiam ad Scripturas excogitavit: et tamen plus abstulit, et plus adjecit auferens proprietatem verborem, et adjiciens dispositiones non comparentium rerum." Tertull. Praser. adv. Har. xxxix.)

herein they had gone much further than their master had ventured to do.1

In like manner we are told concerning the disciples of the heretic Marcus, an offshoot of the Valentinians, that they produced for the deceiving of the unwary an incredible number of apocryphal works, including, as it would seem, a Gospel.² But of distinctively heretical apocryphal Gospels in the earlier half of the second century, with the possible exception of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, there appears to be no trustworthy record.3 It may be added that had the Petrine Gospel been extant in the time of Valentinus, or at any rate if it had enjoyed any kind of authority, it is almost inconceivable that he should not have made use of it in support of his foolish and mischievous doctrines. It is particularly noteworthy that among the Gospel texts mentioned by St. Irenæus as quoted by the Valentinians in support of their heresy, the cry of our Lord on the Cross finds no place. But if a Docetic Gospel, embodying this cry in its Petrine form, had been extant, or had been regarded as authentic, how could the Valentinians have failed to bring forward a text so apposite to their purpose? It should further be noticed that Serapion himself seems to have been aware of the recent origin of the Gospel according to Peter. For he says that he procured a copy of the document "from the successors of those who began it," that is to say, of those who

earlier date than A.D. 165-170.

¹ Har. III. xi. 9. The passage deserves close attention. After speaking in general of those who spoil the harmonious combination of the Gospels (οἱ ἀθετοῦντες την ιδέαν του Εὐαγγελίου) by recognizing either more or fewer than the four, he proceeds to particular instances. Marcion, he says, in effect rejects the whole Gospel, though he pretends to possess it. Others reject the Gospel of St. John. But the Valentinians, casting aside all fear, bring forth their own writings and boast that they have more than the four true Gospels ("existentes extra omnem timorem, suas conscriptiones proferentes, plura gloriantur habere quam sint ipsa Evangelia"). He goes on: "Siquidem in tantum processerunt audacia, uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, veritatis Evangelium intitulent, in nihilo conveniens Apostolorum Evangeliis (here no doubt is some exaggeration) ut nec Evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia," &c. Surely a clear warning, to which sufficient attention has not been paid, that we should not easily admit the existence of apocryphal Gospels (with the single exception named above) of an earlier date than the rise of the Valentinian sects, i.e., earlier than about A.D. 150.

² Hær. III. xx. I. The rise of the Marcosian heresy can hardly be ascribed to an

³ On this subject we must be content to refer to Dr. Lipsius's article on "Apocryphal Gospels" in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. ii. and especially to his remarks on the Gospel of the Hebrews (pp. 709, seq.), and on the o-called Gospel of Basilides. (pp. 715, seq.)

set it afloat.¹ And it is at least possible that the "Marcianus" (or Marcus?) of whom he speaks in connection with the Gospel is no other than the Marcus whose followers poured forth such a flood of apocryphal literature.² If this conjecture be correct, we may find in the pages of St. Irenæus at least one more fragment of the "Gospel according to Peter."8

When then Mr. Robinson writes that, "We need not be surprised if further evidence should tend to place this Gospel nearer to the beginning than to the middle of the second century," we feel constrained to express our dissent, and our conviction that further evidence, should it ever be forthcoming, will compel us to assign the Petrine fragment to some date intermediate between A.D. 150 and A.D. 175.

This being so, the value of the Gospel of Peter, as a *direct* witness to the authenticity of the canonical Gospels must we fear be pronounced to be, relatively speaking, small; small that is by comparison with the complete and irrefragable testimony of Tatian.

But the interest of the newly-found fragment does not lie merely in its direct relation to the canonical Gospels. Taken in conjunction with other documents of the second century, it enables us in a somewhat unexpected manner to test the value of the methods employed by a certain class of modern anti-Christian critics. Some of our readers may possibly remember the glibness with which that very perspicacious person, the author of *Supernatural Religion*, discoursed on the supposed identity or close mutual relationship of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and the Gospel according to Peter; they may remember also the confidence with which

 2 The text is certainly corrupt, as Mr. Robinson admits. Perhaps we should read δ Md ρ kos kal &s, for δ Ma ρ kiavds kal. . . . The insertion of &s is, as has been said

above, necessary to the completion of the sense.

⁴ P. 32. He admits, however, that there are considerations which "might make us hesitate to place it earlier than c. 170." One of these considerations is "the use of the four Gospels side by side, suggesting that the work is based upon [we should say, rather, 'was itself suggested by'] a previous Harmony."

¹ παρ' άλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων τοῦτο τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, τουτέστι παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν καταρξαμένων αὐτὸν, κτλ. (Eusebius, l.c.) The Latin translator has blundered over this passage, rendering it "a successoribus eorum qui Marciano (!) præiverunt." Mr. Robinson gives the sense correctly, as above.

³ Har. I. xx. I. A foolish passage, which the holy Doctor here quotes, about the schooling of our Lord (how when the master bade Him say "B," He replied that He would say "B" when the master had explained the meaning of "A") seems to be taken from one of the Marcosian apocryphal books, perhaps from the Petrine Gospel.

he assumed that St. Justin and other early Fathers must have made use of these sources, or rather (assuming their substantial identity) of this source of information. We will let him speak for himself.

Almost all the critics [he says] are agreed [that] the Gospel according to the Hebrews under various names, such as the Gospel according to Peter, . . . the Nazarenes, the Ebionites, &c., with modifications certainly, but substantially the same work, was circulated very widely throughout the early Church.¹

No one seems to have seen Tatian's Harmony, probably for the very simple reason that there was no such work, and the real Gospel used by him was that according to the Hebrews, as many distinctly and correctly call it.²

Again:

The manner in which Theodoret dealt with Tatian's Gospel, or that according to the Hebrews, recalls the treatment by Serapion of another form of the same work, the Gospel according to Peter.³

Again:

The Gospel according to the Hebrews [= Tatian = Peter] was once probably used by all the Fathers.⁴

Again:

The Gospel according to the Hebrews was probably used by some at least of the Apostolic Fathers.⁵

Once more:

The number of times he [Justin] seems to quote from a Petrine Gospel which was quite different from Mark (!), confirms the inference that he cannot possibly here [viz., Dial. c. 106] refer to our second Gospel.⁶

Now, when these words were written, about a score of passages from the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" were known from the quotations of St. Jerome and others; but Tatian and the Gospel according to Peter have since been discovered. And what is the bearing of the discovery on the theories of the writer whom we have been quoting? The reader may see for himself, in the case of the only passages in which the

2 1bid. ii. 159, 160 (italics ours).

¹ Supernatural Religion (Sixth Edit.), i. 420. The identification was, we believe, first proposed by Credner.

² Ibid. ⁴ Ibid. p. 161. ⁸ Ibid. p. 167. ⁶ Ibid. i. 419.

⁷ They may be found collected and annotated in Hilgenfeld's N. T. extra Canonem Receptum, fasc. iv. pp. 16, seq.

three documents admit of being compared. He may form his own conclusions as to the results to be anticipated if further fragments either of "Hebrews" or of "Peter" should be discovered.

Hebrews.	Peter.	Tatian.
The lintel of the Temple, which was of enormous size, was broken and split. ¹		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

The Lord gave His (Not a word of all (Not a word of this.) winding-sheet to the servant of the High Priest, and went to James, &c.³

He took bread and (Not a word of this.) (Not a word of this.) blessed and gave it to James the Just, &c.4

So much for the identity between "Hebrews" and the other two. But what about "Peter" and Tatian? Why, in every single point in which Peter differs from our Gospels (and they are many, as has been seen), he differs also from Tatian! Mr. Robinson indeed tells us that "the cry of Woe" uttered by the Jews after the Crucifixion "is found in Tatian's *Diatessaron*," of which he goes on to say that it is "chiefly known to us through an Armenian version of St. Ephrem's Syriac Commentary upon it." The "cry of Woe" does indeed occur in Ephrem's Commentary, but it has no place in Ciasca's text of the *Diatessaron*.

But how about Justin's use of the Gospel according to Peter? Of course, if our view as to the late date of the Petrine Gospel is correct, Justin cannot have made use of it. Let us however suppose for the sake of argument that we have been mistaken, and that the earlier date, suggested by Mr. Robinson, and assumed in Supernatural Religion, is the correct one. There is indeed one point in which Justin and the pseudo-Gospel agree in a remarkable manner. It is the passage in which the Jews are represented as dragging our Lord $(\sigma \acute{\nu} \rho \omega \mu e \nu)$ Pet. $\delta \iota a \sigma \acute{\nu} \rho \nu \tau e s$ Just.) and placing Him on the judgment-seat. But the real divergence from our Gospel narrative in this point lies merely in a misunderstanding of St. John's word $\dot{e} \kappa \acute{a} \theta \iota \sigma e \nu$, which both writers (using that very verb in the same

Hieron, in Matth. xxvii. 51. 2 Diatessaron, c. 52 (Ciasca, p. 92 b.)

³ Hieron. De Vir. 111. c. 2. ⁴ Hieron. 1bid. ⁵ P. 22. ⁶ Apol. i. 35; Robinson, p. 18.

tense) have rendered transitively instead of intransitively. Mr. Robinson tells us that Archbishop Whately used to translate this passage of St. John in the same way, "and set Him on the judgment-seat." Likely enough it was a rendering which early obtained some currency, and it is at least possible that in this case both may have drawn from the supposititious Acts of Pilate, to which Justin here refers as his authority.²

The only other point of agreement between Justin and the Gospel according to Peter (where the latter differs verbally at least from our Gospels), is in the use of the word $\lambda\alpha\chi\mu\delta$ s instead of $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\delta$ s for the lots which were thrown for our Lord's garment. But inasmuch as St. John uses the corresponding verb $\lambda\alpha\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$,

the point is really of no importance.

But how does the case stand as regards matters of greater moment? The following table may serve to show. We omit those cases only in which both Justin and pseudo-Peter are in agreement with the canonical Gospels.

Justin.

Pilate, that he might do Herod a favour, &c. (Pilate is supreme.)³

Christ endured to suffer.⁴ Christ truly suffered (in perpessionibus *vere*).⁵ The people wagged their heads,

and said, Let Him deliver Himself, &c. ⁶
My God, My God, why hast Thou
forsaken Me? ⁷

Father, into Thy hands, &c.8 Christ stood in the midst of His Apostles (on Easter day).9

Peter.

Pilate demands a favour from Herod. (Herod is Pilate's superior.) He was silent because He felt no pain.

Peter omits this.

My power, My power, forsakest thou Me?

Peter omits this. Peter omits this.

The reader may now judge for himself (1) how far Justin was indebted to the Gospel according to Peter; and (2) how far serious students are indebted to the acute and sagacious reasonings of writers like the author of *Supernatural Religion*. 10

¹ P. 18.

 $^{^2}$ Mr. Robinson seems to have overlooked this reference of Justin's to the Acta Pilati.

Dial. c. 103.
 Apol. i. 50.
 Dial. c. 103.
 Dial. c. 101; Apol. i. 38.
 Dial. c. 99.
 Dial. c. 105.
 Dial. c. 106.

No stress can be laid on a comparison between the passages in which both Justin (Dial. c. 72) and the Petrine Gospel (§ 10) speak of our Lord as having "preached to them that sleep." For the passage in Justin avowedly rests on a lost or spurious text of Jeremias, while the words of the Gospel are sufficiently accounted for by the currency of the same text, and perhaps also by I Peter iii. 19; iv. 6. (Robinson, p. 25.) It is difficult to imagine that Justin could have quoted from so tainted a source as the Gospel of Peter. That he did, there is no shadow of proof.

But this is not all. Credner and his followers had some excuse, in the absence of documentary evidence, for their identification of the Diatessaron with "Hebrews," and of both with pseudo-Peter. Epiphanius, who ought to have known better, confounded the two first;1 and the ascription of "Hebrews" and of "Peter" alike to the "Nazarenes" afforded some ground for the assumption of their substantial identity.2 But what do we gather from all this, now that we know by the evidence of our own eyes that the documents are not identical? Why, that the Fathers, for the most part, knew very little about these apocryphal Gospels, and, like sensible men, cared less, except when they came under their immediate notice. We learn from Serapion himself how little he knew of this Petrine Gospel which he at first tolerated. Theodoret's description of the Diatessaron, the use of which he suppressed in his own diocese, seems to betray some misconception of its real character; while as to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, latebat in angulis terræ, and few were they who had more than a hearsay acquaintance with it. So far were these apocryphal books from standing, as the author of Supernatural Religion supposes them to have stood, on the same footing with the canonical Gospels.

Once more. Either we are right in assigning the Petrine Gospel to the latter half of the second century, or the critics are right who think it belongs to a much earlier period. If we are right, then St. Justin and his contemporaries cannot have been indebted to a document which was not yet in existence. If the critics are right, then they have been contending for the antiquity of a piece of literature which turns out to be an irrefragable witness against themselves. Will any one point out a way of escape from this dilemma?

HERBERT LUCAS.

¹ "And it is said that the *Diatessaron* Gospel, which some call the Gospel according to the Hebrews, was composed by him," i.e. by Tatian. (Hær. xlvi. 1.)
² Hieron, in Matth. xii. 13; Theod. Hær. Fab. ii. 2.

The Zambesi Mission.

THE public mind has been so occupied of late with the doings of the British South African Company, and public imagination so smitten with the Imperial creations, so to speak, of its chief director in Africa, that we cannot do better than draw the attention of our readers to what this development, and the new civilization growing in South Central Africa, means for the future of the Catholic Church in these regions. The movement is one which seems to promise results such as have never before been held out to her. Where such an enterprise is at stake, it might seem that to her faithful children there need only be pointed out the opportunities for salvation of souls, and the new facilities for working these, which are provided both by the material organization of the country and by the good-will of those in authority, for them to press forward to the assistance of such vast interests. The labours of Catholic missionaries in those parts in the cause of civilization and order, are recognized by the men in power, and they freely proclaim the abnegation and self-sacrifice both of the Fathers and of the good nuns who have accompanied them.

But it may be said, that we have long heard of Zambesi and the heroic missioners who have lost their lives there. It seems an abyss in which choice lives disappear from the expectant gaze of brethren in Europe. Doubtless it has been so; but a new era has begun. Not that the missioner will have a smooth time! His path still bristles with hardships and with the dangers inseparable from a life in savage lands; but owing to the internal administration of a vast country by a fixed Government, owing to the constantly increasing rapidity of communication, and the hoped-for near realization of the railway scheme from the East Coast, it is obvious that a transformation scene is being enacted, and it behoves us Catholics to profit by it.

Let us cast a backward glance at the struggles of the earlier missionaries. The Zambesi Mission was formally constituted by Propaganda in 1878, when it was handed over to the Society of Jesus, and founded the following year by the Belgian Father Depelchin, just ten years before the date of the treaty of peace and unity between Lo Bengula, King of Matabeleland, and the representatives of Great Britain—which treaty was shortly followed by the incorporation by Royal Charter of the British South African Company. The vast territories assigned by Propaganda to the Zambesi Mission have now, owing to political events, almost entirely passed under the British flag, and under the rule, in fact, of the British South African Company.

We propose in the course of this and later papers to give extracts from such letters and diaries of recent missioners as will throw light on the present situation. We hope to include among them an account of the journey to Mashona in the present year of the Rev. Father Schomberg Kerr, S.J., P.A., who was accompanied by several Fathers and lay-brothers of the Society. The object of this expedition is to establish a permanent agricultural settlement, with schools and workshops, for the instruction of the natives on land given by the Company for the purpose. They also propose to erect a church in honour of the Sacred Heart.

The boundaries assigned by the Holy See to the Apostolic Prefecture of Zambesi are as follows: To the north, the Congo Free State; west, the 22nd deg. long. E. of Greenwich; south, the tropical line, and the course of the Limpopo or Crocodile River; and to the east, the Portuguese possessions of the East Coast.

Father Arkwright, who has recently returned from Zambesi, gives an excellent retrospect of the early trials of the Mission in a paper which we will not withhold from our readers. His sketch of the present outlook is also full of interest.

"The Mission of the Zambesi lies along both sides of the River Zambesi, from its source to its mouth, and may be said to take in the whole Zambesi watershed. This region is exceedingly vast, and is overrun with the wildest of wild beasts and the most savage of savages. The country is only beginning to be opened up, and even yet civilization has only scratched the surface. A single line of railway runs into the interior for seven hundred and fifty miles, and one thousand miles and

more must be added before the mighty river of the interior is reached. In order to push on to the centre of the Mission, instead of travelling at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, the average rate of trains in the Cape, fifteen miles a day is reckoned quite fast enough if you want to get at the end of your journey without killing all your oxen. When the Zambesi Mission was started by Father Weld in 1878, the railway had only reached Grahamstown, one hundred and seven miles (along the line) from Port Elizabeth. Hence the pioneer missioners had to start 'trekking' from Grahamstown.

"We in England have little or no idea of the tremendous undertaking Father Depelchin and his companions took upon themselves fourteen years ago. And when it was given out by Father Weld himself, when visiting England in 1882, that no one could think of making for the interior under an outlay of £1,000 a wagon, people only laughed at such extravagance, but as we shall see later on, from the letters of the present Superior, Rev. Father Kerr, the estimate was by no means exaggerated, and £1,000 is not at all too much even with the greatest economy.

"The Mission of the Zambesi has been established, one would think, a sufficiently long time to let people judge of the success of the past and the hopes of the future. If the reader reasons so, I am afraid he will be sadly disappointed. The Mission has been established fourteen years, it is true, but has it been in full gear, in full working order, all this time? A slight glance at the history of the Mission during this period will speak for itself.

"The first batch of missioners consisted of eight Fathers and three lay-brothers, and three large wagons, each wagon drawn by from sixteen to eighteen oxen. They got beyond the frontiers of Cape Colony and the Transvaal without many mishaps. Once however beyond the River Limpopo, one trial came after another. But the hardy missioners kept ahead. It was in Father Depelchin's plan to establish stations along the line of march, but as he made headway into the interior, he got news of the death of one Father, then another, one Brother, then another. Man proposes, God disposes. One station after another had to be abandoned, until further help came from the Cape. Another set of missioners, headed by Father Croonenberghs, went to their help, and were dispersed over the country. These too had their trials. Father Wehl got astray, missed

the track of the wagon, was lost in the bush, and was only found a month after, completely out of his mind. He died soon after. A lay-brother was lost in Crocodile River. Father Law died of starvation, Father Perörde and Father Fuchs died of fever. Father de Witt fell from his horse, and died on the spot, and was buried in the coffin which was being made for Brother Nigg, who they were expecting might die at any minute, but who lived several years after. Finally, Father Depelchin, who had broken his leg during the journey, came back to the Colony, on his way to Europe to give an account of his expedition, and the hopes he had of the Mission.

"After all kinds of adventures and mishaps, the missioners gradually dwindled down, station after station was abandoned, on account of men dying or returning to Europe never to return, so that before the South African Gold Company was formed we were left with only one station in Matabeleland, and one station in the Transvaal. Father Prestage was in Lo Bengula's country for ten years or so, but made little or no progress with the blacks, on account of the despotic rule of the King.

"Here we are therefore in presence of the Zambesi Mission still in childbirth, and this is literally true; the pioneers were all priests and lay-brothers, all formed men, and pretty advanced in years. These have all dropped out of the lines, and the young men who are on the eve of finishing their studies are bracing themselves up with youthful vigour to dash ahead to the heart of the interior, taught by the experience of their forerunners all the precautions to be taken with the enormous difficulty of the genius of the native languages, practically solved by one of their own generation, a Father of the Society of Jesus.

"With the decease of the first missioners, who bravely sacrificed their lives on the march to the interior, we are brought to the hopes and prospects of their successors. What are they? Is it worth while going on? Has all the labour of the past been thrown away? These are questions which those who have contributed largely to the maintenance of the Mission in the way of men and money, have the right to ask, and to be answered.

"We have seen what drawbacks our forefathers had to contend with. The despotism of Lo Bengula, although outwardly he pretended to be friendly, kept the missioners at a standstill for ten years. To the urgent entreaties of Father Depelchin and his successors to be allowed to evangelize the Mashona country he invariably replied, that the Mashonas were his dogs, and had no need of instruction. These miserable people were the special victims of the yearly raids of his Impis or warriors. Other kings demanded presents beyond the power of the Fathers to give them; there was the constant necessity of having to wait for six, nine, twelve months for money and provisions from the Colony and Europe. The Superior at the beginning had his residence in Rome, hence all the favourable opportunities of doing immediate good were lost. However, we are now on the other side of most of these inconveniences. The interior can be reached in three months instead of six months. We are free from the despotic rule of Lo Bengula, thanks to the British flag. The blacks may be instructed and baptized without any fear of being made away with by the King's treachery. The telegraph unites Mashonaland with the Colony, all the men are young and ready and fit for active service.

"Truly, before the country was opened up by the new chartered Company things did look black indeed, and poor Father Weld's heart seemed to be sinking, but when he saw the fortune hunters and gold seekers themselves taking the thing in hand, he beheld all their endeavours in a supernatural light and gave sincere thanks to God for His wonderful providence, and on his death-bed his one great thought was that at last the time was come for the conversion of the

poor abandoned creatures on the Zambesi.

"What about the natives? They at least remain always the same. And this is true; savages all the world over are savages, and naturally speaking, as well attempt to tame a tiger as a savage accustomed all his life to making raids on neighbouring villages, but no missionary ever dreamt of taming down the savage by natural means. When our Lord sent His Apostles to the four corners of the earth, there were savages then both black and white just as hard to tame and bring under the yoke of Christ as the wildest of Lo Bengula's men, yet we find the Apostles making converts by thousands, and the very same will happen in our days, when it shall please God to crown with success the labours of so many heroes who lie buried along the banks of the Zambesi, for His promise still endures. 'And behold I am with you even to the consummation of the world.' The Calcutta Mission was started fifty years before any enormous success was achieved, and it is only in the

past few years that the Indians have taken to the missionaries. The famous Paraguay Missions took forty years before they took root, and if the Zambesi is set fairly a-going in the same time all the missionaries past and present will deem their labours amply rewarded.

"But to come to facts, although the Zambesi had advanced very little in the interior, its men have not been idle elsewhere, and results of its labours in the stations already founded in Cape Colony are pledges of the success in store in the Mission proper."

We hope to show, as Father Arkwright tells us, that the prospects of the Zambesi Mission have indeed taken an enormous stride. In 1890, Mr. Cecil Rhodes became Premier of Cape Colony. With the co-operation of the Government, he recruited a body of police and of pioneers, who together mustered some seven hundred strong. A contract was entered into with Mr. F. Johnston, Mr. Selous, the explorer, and other experienced men in pioneer work, and under their leadership and the military command of Colonel Pennefather, the force advanced from Mafeking towards the interior in the month of March. In September they had reached Mashona, wonderful to relate, without opposition, having studiously avoided the native kraals and the neighbourhood of the more bloodthirsty and warlike tribes. A line for wagon travel was mapped out, entrenched camps were made at points of strategic importance, and forts built, the furthest north of which became Fort Salisbury, and proved at once the centre and capital of the newly acquired territory. The occupation of Mashona was officially proclaimed on September 11th, 1890. The continuation of the Cape Town and Vryburg Railway, which was to have been carried through Mafeking towards the interior, has now been postponed in favour of the new project of a line from Beira on the East Coast, to enter Mashona on the eastern frontier, a distance of only three hundred miles, which will render communication with Europe much more rapid. Telegraphic communication now connects Cape Town and Fort Salisbury, and a complete scheme of postal organization has been brought into operation since August 1st, 1892.

Besides the sovereign powers acquired by the British South African Company by treaty from Lo Bengula in 1891, the Company has made connections and alliances beyond the

Zambesi as far as the border of the Free Congo State and to the frontier of the West Portuguese possessions, notably with the King of the Barotses, a powerful and well-disposed chief, and with Gungunhama, of Gazaland, who has given concessions over the whole of his territory. This chief sent over two of his principal indunas to England, in June, 1891, under the charge of a representative of the Company, Mr. D. Doyle, to offer his allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, and to ask for her protection over his country. The head of the Administration, Dr. Jameson, is a kindred spirit to Mr. C. Rhodes, and has acted as his personal representative in various important missions in Matabele and the adjoining countries. An effective military police force was at first enrolled, which however has now made way for a small body of civil police, a volunteer corps, and a "burgher force," consisting of all the able-bodied colonists who are liable to be called upon to serve in time of danger. Hospitals have been erected, all of which except one are served by the Catholic Dominican nuns. The gold-fields, about which so much has been said for and against them, are being apparently actively developed. Deputations of experienced agriculturists from Cape Colony and the Free State have reported favourably of the capabilities of the country from the agricultural point of view, so that land is being taken up by colonists under the Company's regulations. Salisbury is growing into a town, with shops and stores, and even hotels, and a couple of newspapers have been started.

The operations of the Company represent, as may be supposed, a vast outlay of money. The Pioneer Expedition alone, apart from the obligation to grant land and mining rights, cost £89,285.\(^1\) The expenses of the telegraphic extension, covering a distance of eight hundred and nineteen miles from Mafeking, completed last spring, were £92,800. Administration north of the Zambesi (chiefly in Her Majesty's Protectorate of Nyasaland, of which the Company has undertaken the expense) costs annually £10,000. Mr. Rhodes himself spent £50,000 last year in provisioning the colonists of the Company before the rainy season. Altogether the expenditure of the Company was reported, we understand, in the Cape papers, by the end of 1891, to have reached the immense sum of £6,000,000.

¹ These figures, those of the telegraphic expenditure, and those of administration in North Zambesi, are taken from this year's Report of the Company to the Shareholders.

Such is the wonderful power which has leapt into existence, and which offers encouragement to all teachers of Christianity who are ready to help in the work of civilization. It is well to bear in mind, therefore, that unless Catholics provide men and means to enable Catholic missioners to go to the fore, we shall lose our chances and others will supplant them in the field.

It is time we should return to the work of the missioners. The holy and much regretted Father Weld was appointed in 1883 to succeed Father Depelchin, the first Superior, and when disabled by illness four years later, was replaced by the Rev. A. Daignault, who is now, after eight years' experience in Zambesi, in Europe to collect funds and men for the work. We will take up the narrative in 1889 and follow the steps of the Fathers, who, undaunted by the adversity and discouragement of past years, and filled with the spirit of St. Ignatius and the hope of better times, returned again and again to the charge.

Three of these, Rev. Fathers Prestage, Hartmann, and Booms, who had been stationed for two years at Empandani, near Lo Bengula's capital, have returned along with other white settlers to Mafeking, when the Company's pioneer expedition was in preparation. This was in view of the probable outbreak of hostilities occasioned by the European advance. One of these, Father Booms, died almost immediately after the pioneers were making their last preparations against both enemies and sickness. The Fathers were busy attending to the spiritual wants of the Catholics at Mafeking. A Catholic officer applied for a Jesuit to act as chaplain to the Catholics of the force. Father Daignault was most anxious to make use of the protection of the Company to penetrate into Mashona, and lay the solid foundations of a central mission. He therefore offered to provide at his own expense military ambulances under the charge of Sisters, with Fathers to act as chaplains. Father Weld and he met Mr. Rhodes at Kimberley, and the proposal was eagerly and gratefully accepted by the latter. Father Daignault applied for Sisters for Mashona to the Dominicanesses at King Williamstown, five of whom were accordingly promised. He meanwhile constructed the ambulance wagons, and two large sail-cloth tents with iron roofs, besides smaller ones, and a third large tent, to serve as chapel. He reached Mafeking in January, 1890, and was shortly afterwards joined by the nuns. While awaiting the start of the expedition the Sisters busied themselves in hospital and the Fathers

in apostolic work. Father Teming, who had come from Grahamstown; to accompany the expedition fell ill, and Father Hartmann took his place along with Father Prestage. We proceed to quote some interesting letters of this Father, and also to give a copious extract from an account of the journey and first settlement at Fort Salisbury, of the Fathers and Sisters which appeared a short time ago in the pages of the *Précis Historiques*.

"In the beginning of April the missionaries and the Sisters started on their way to the camp at Macloutsie. The journey lasted twenty-seven days. On their arrival, the Sisters were received with the greatest enthusiasm by the soldiers, who were drawn up to receive them, and among whom they were to spend ten months in the practice of continual and self-

denying charity.

"Father Prestage erected a special tent for the Church services. The Catholic soldiers, who varied in number from ten to forty-eight, were conducted to Mass on Sundays by an officer. There was a sermon both at Mass and at Benediction in the evening. Some Protestants attended regularly, and one was converted. Every evening the Rosary was recited, followed by Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The Catholics showed themselves grateful to Father Prestage for his care and attention, and raised a subscription of over £50 for his support. Colonel Pennefather and his officers would not allow him and the nuns to accompany them further, as was intended at first. A few hundred white men against fifteen thousand fierce savages, stood every chance of being slaughtered, and these brave men could not permit their devoted nurses to be exposed to the assegais of the cruel Matabeles.

"The Sisters accordingly remained in the camp at Macloutsie, to their great regret, but they performed prodigies of charity there. Besides the care of the sick, they took charge of the baking, of the washing and mending of clothes, and of other necessary matters. In the month of August, Sir Henry Loch, Governor of the Colony, Mr. C. Rhodes, and other officials visited the camp. They were greatly impressed by the noble conduct and heroic disinterestedness of the indefatigable Sisters. Sir Henry Loch implored them not to abandon a place to which they rendered such invaluable services, and he also begged them to get others to take their place, when they

should be obliged to go forward to Fort Salisbury. Mr. Rhodes expressed equal satisfaction as to Father Prestage's care of the Catholic soldiers.

"Meanwhile Father Hartmann was accompanying the advancing portion of the expedition. All, without distinction of creed, manifested great respect and esteem towards him, and he shared all their fatigue and anxieties. He was familiar with the language and customs of Lo Bengula's savage subjects, as he had spent nearly two years in Matabeleland. He was therefore chosen as interpreter. The Matabeles frequently visited the camp, and one day announced that Lo Bengula had resolved to launch all his forces upon the invaders. The young warriors, incited by the old chiefs, besought the King's permission to exterminate the whites. Lo Bengula, like a clever politician, found means to get out of a difficult position. He left them free to do as they wished, but he represented the uselessness of contending with the white men. 'You know,' he said, 'the fate of the Zulus; the same awaits us. You may beat the white men two or three times, but what is the good of that? Whilst you go to the east, they will come from the north, and on your return you will find your wives and children massacred or prisoners.' The warriors no longer dared to expose their King and country to such risks, and thus by a special disposition of Providence the troops met with no resistance, and the occupation of Mashonaland was successful beyond all expectation.

"The pioneer corps was dissolved on September 30, 1890, as soon as the foundation of Fort Salisbury was completed. Father Hartmann obtained from Colonel Pennefather a site for a hospital, chapel, and house for the nuns. He erected two huts for himself, and two larger erections to serve as a hospital. He spent his days in studying the language of the Mashonas, with which he thoroughly familiarized himself, in his religious duties, and the care of the sick, though he himself suffered much from fever. As he was anxious to establish missions among the natives as soon as possible, he went to visit some of the Mashona chiefs, and in the month of April obtained permission from Shogogwa, the son of Matoko, to establish himself in his territory. He spent the month of May, 1891, amongst the Catholics dispersed through Manicaland. On his return to Fort Salisbury, he occupied himself in the final preparation for the reception of the nuns who were coming

on from Macloutsie. Colonel Pennefather had wanted them as early as November, but the near approach of the rainy season and the scarcity of provisions in the interior, determined the authorities at Macloutsie to keep them there till the return of favourable weather. Those also who were to replace them had not yet arrived from Cape Colony. The troops left at Macloutsie were about two hundred and twenty in number.

"Every month Father Prestage went to Fort Tuli, about fifty-six miles to the north-east. He spent one or two days with the four or five Catholics in the garrison there, said Mass for them, and then returned to his post. Towards the end of March, 1891, fever broke out at Fort Tuli, and the Father, at the request of the commanding officer, took two of the nuns there to nurse the sick. Meanwhile, on March 8, 1891, Father Nicot, of St. Aidan's College, left Grahamstown, in company with four Dominican nuns, appointed to the care of the ambulance in Bechuanaland. Their Superior, Sister Jacoba, had been saved from death in the preceding year by the intercession of St. Peter Claver, on whose feast she suddenly recovered the health she so much desired, that she might devote herself to the service of the blacks. On their arrival at Macloutsie, the three remaining nuns rejoined their companions at Fort Tuli. They were overwhelmed with work, owing to the increasing numbers of the sick. Early in June, the five Sisters began the last stage of the road, of four hundred miles, to Fort Salisbury, where they arrived after a long and painful journey, on July 27, 1891."

The South African Company, in recognition of Father Daignault's services, and of the care bestowed on the sick, presented the Mission with twelve thousand acres of land, about ten miles from Salisbury, besides sites for building in the place itself. In 1891 one of the Fathers wrote that a chapel and house for the Sisters were already up, and that the convent and hospital made quite a fine appearance; the doctor was much pleased with the ambulance arrangements. All hands in the place were busily employed brickmaking, wood-sawing, &c.; public works were beginning. About fifty-four Catholics, scattered all over the country, were on the Father's books, and a good number were brought to the sacraments.

The Dominican Sisters at Salisbury, as well as at Tuli,

¹ Mr. Rhodes has generously refunded all expended by Father Daignault in the construction and organization of the ambulance wagons.

Macloutsie, and Mafeking, earned the veneration and love of all the white population. "It is indeed a consolation," wrote Father Daignault, "to see how they prepare the dying to receive the last sacraments. The sick of all denominations are treated with the most intelligent and most devoted care."

Other tributes to their devotion were not wanting. They received a touching letter of thanks from Lord and Lady Elphinstone for the care given to their eldest son, whom they had nursed through a terrible illness, though, from his unfortunate attempt to travel before thorough recovery, he afterwards died, as may be remembered, on his way to Cape Colony. On the first anniversary of the occupation of Fort Salisbury, the former pioneers celebrated the event with a banquet, at which eighty guests were present. Mr. Selous recalled the devotedness of the Dominican Sisters in a few words, which were received with tremendous cheers. The Record and Beaconsfield Advertiser gave an account of the enthusiasm with which an explorer, Captain Hausen, on his return to the Cape, spoke of the Religious who nursed in the hospitals of Mashona, to whose care he considered he owed his restoration to health, saying that his own mother could not have done more. "All, without distinction of creed," he said, "have the profoundest respect for them, and it would go ill with any one who should say a word against them before the men of the chartered Company, or indeed before any one." A splendid tribute to them was also paid by the head doctor of the hospital service in Mashona. Dr. Frank Rand, in a letter which appeared in The Times on Feb. 10, 1892, describes the hospital at Fort Salisbury, which consists of three large rectangular rooms for the use of the sick, and also of six round huts, which serve various purposes. The doctor says: "Attendance on the sick, preparation of their food, the care to procure comforts-all is seen to by the Dominican Sisters. For two years these noble women, forgetful of themselves, have worked without hope of earthly reward, in the middle of difficulties which have risen at every step. Moreover, they also do the cooking, besides serving the food to the sick, which is heavy work." In 1891 the good nuns wished to get up a bazaar for the decoration of the chapel. The plan was so eagerly taken up by the settlers, who determined to show their gratitude, that the Sisters realized four times what they expected, and the total reached £260. Their invaluable services at Salisbury have caused them to be asked for at the other stations. Hospital work does not suffice their zeal, and both white and native schools are to be added to their work. As we shall see, another relay were shortly to come to their assistance.

The Fathers, too, toiled with indefatigable zeal to attract and evangelize the natives. In the face of the great activity displayed by the Protestant denominations, who are backed by the wealth of multitudes of supporters, and have vast funds at their disposal, they would wish to bring the many resources of Catholic apostleship to bear in all directions. The want of money, alas! and the fewness of numbers, ties their hands, and leaves them comparatively powerless before the great work to be done.¹ Increase of numbers and funds is therefore of the greatest importance.

In December, 1890, the Rev. Schomberg Kerr, S.J. (from the English Province), was appointed by the General of the Jesuits Superior of the Zambesi Mission, and of the Missions and various establishments of the Society in Cape Colony. At the same time he was made Prefect-Apostolic of Zambesi by Propaganda. He left England in March, 1890, and found, on arriving in Africa, his first year fully occupied by the complicated nature of the charge committed to him in the Colony itself, and with an expedition to Bechuanaland. In the early part of 1892, he deputed Father Daignault to go to Europe to plead the cause of the poor savages, for whom the latter had so long and so successfully worked, and himself began his preparations for going up into the interior. He had previously had the good fortune to obtain Father R. Colley as Rector for St. Aidan's College. Father Kerr once more proceeded to Bechuanaland, on his way to Mashona, visiting mission stations on the way, and at Vryburg was rejoined by Father Barthelemy and five Dominican Sisters. Meanwhile they anxiously awaited news of recruits from Europe. There had been no lack of volunteers in response to Father Daignault's appeals, and valuable men were given to the Mission by some of the Provincials.

Father Kerr writes: "Passion Monday, April 3rd. I am here despatching wagons and goods; and on Saturday, Father Barthelemy and the five Dominican Sisters should be already

¹ The price of provisions in Mashona is very great, owing to the enormous cost of the transport of goods, which hitherto has been no less than £70 per ton.

on their journey of one thousand miles. I may go with them, or may have to return to Cape Colony first. We are asked to look after Bechuanaland, so we evangelize as we go along. Fr. B. stopped at Taungs last Sunday, and I did Vryburg. Next Mafeking, and outlying farms probably—but Catholics are few and far between. My party will probably spend Easter at Mafeking. . . . I never thought I should become a sort of 'general dealer;' yet so it is. Having done business in wagons and goods, I have now to ride round farms and buy oxen, of which I have become an accomplished judge! The numbers of people who are anxious to take one in is quite extraordinary! The expenses are tremendous, . . . but we must take to our prayers and have confidence. A mission without lay-brothers and nuns is useless—experience proves."

Father Barthelemy with wagons and carts, consisting of "Loyola" wagon, the new buck wagon, and the so-called "Scotch carts," had moved out to the first "water," there to await the Sisters, a distance of about three miles. Father Kerr writes (and his letters give a vivid idea of some of the trials of African travel): "The day was spent in unloading, unpacking, and reloading and settling in, as the down country people apparently do not understand saving bulk. Everything was repacked into nearly half the space. . . . I said Mass on the feast of the Seven Dolours at the station, and then all the party went to the wagons. In the evening, Sir Sydney Shippard and his daughters kindly drove out to visit the nuns, and Miss Shippard presented them with the very welcome gift of two kittens, and warmly expressed their good wishes before returning to Government House. Mrs. Newton, who is the wife of the Colonial Secretary, who has proved himself a kind friend to the Mission on several occasions. I met him at dinner at Government House, and he was full of helpful thoughts and actions. May God reward him! Next morning last touches of business! then Itinerarium, Litany, and many invocations of saints and holy patrons, and we started full of the glorious and rapid march in store for us. In less than half an hour the buck having yawed a few inches from the beaten track, had its near forewheel buried well up to the axle, and there it remained till past sunset. Double and treble spans of oxen, jack-screws, levers, all were tried in vain, and at last a passing friend and very efficient driver came to the rescue with all his crew and oxen and worked patiently; finally the

previous day's work had to be undone and the wagon unloaded! It was late that night before we could move on, and we did not reach our outspan till the sun was well up."

At a certain point the roads divide into a higher and lower route, of which the "Mail" coach takes the former, and the "Express" coach the latter. As the higher route goes through a corner of Transvaal and implies risks of customs, the lower one was selected. Progress was very slow, and as Father Kerr had to be at Mafeking for Good Friday and Easter, he decided to pick up the "Express" coach as it passed on the Tuesday. One of his fellow-passengers was Lord Henry Paulett, who, he says, established a good name in the country, for the second day on overtaking a trader whose driver had fallen out of the wagon, and who was lying on the roadside with a broken leg and in much pain, he promptly produced splints and bandages and devoted himself to his attendance, and they very successfully straightened and bandaged him. Lord Henry left orders that he was to be picked up by his own wagon when it came up. This little episode detained the coach (cart and eight mules) some two hours. Father Kerr arrived that evening at Mafeking, a room was hired for services, and there were some nineteen Easter Communions and three baptisms. Father Barthelemy and party caught him up on Easter Tuesday, and were piloted in the dark by Father Kerr from the "drift" on the banks of the Molops to the place near the hospital where they had been kindly allowed to outspan.

The Sisters here received many visitors and much kindness from all, and amongst others, from the Rev. Mr. Moffat, well known in these parts, who has lived at Lo Bengula's elbow at Gubuluwayo for some years. Father Kerr describes him as full of information, most helpful and generous, and absolutely with-

out prejudice.

After a short period of repose, Father Barthelemy and the Sisters started for Macloutsie, with orders to evangelize as they went. All visited the grave of Father Booms, and Father Kerr then returned to await the German detachment of Fathers and Brothers sent out from Europe, who, owing to delay of letters and the rapid passage of the *Scot* (the fastest on record), had upset his calculations and his plan of perhaps meeting them at Capetown. They arrived seven in number, the Rev. Fathers Rickardz and Boos and five lay-brothers, and they were, through a series of accidents, without a particle of luggage,

and this after six thousand miles by sea and seven hundred and seventy-three by land! But delay was useless, immediate necessaries were procured, and leaving the luggage to follow, they started, three in the buck wagon, which they named "Canisius," in honour of the feast of the day, and five in the tent wagon.

"They are a delightful party," writes Father Kerr, "three speak English well and the others are learning; all seem strong and very anxious to proceed *in nomine Domini*. Certainly it is very generous of the German Province to spare such men. Father Daignault's powers of persuasion must be great. May they last long and do much A.M.D.G."

They heard on the road that a number of cattle which were awaiting them at the Mission of Vleishfontein had been seized with lung sickness, two span of oxen and cows had been placed hors de combat, seventeen had died. This was a tremendous anxiety and greatly increased the expenditure. Father Kerr writes: "The expenses are terrible; if £2,000 sees us safe at Salisbury with some stores and provisions left, I shall sing a Magnificat."

In another letter he says: "Each morning the altar reminds us of its kind donor, . . . it is my joy and the admiration of all who see it, being so suited to wagon life. . . . At a place near Ramoutsa we had an interesting and touching case. Strolling out with Father Rickardz, in search of food and water, we spied a few Kaffir huts and made for them. The occupants, a large family, were busy building, and had nothing to give us, but as we retraced our steps, I saw, sitting in a deserted kraal, an old creature making passes over what seemed to be raw beef. 'An old witch doctor,' said I; 'let us see.' On looking again, we saw it was an old woman with a look of pain in her countenance, and vainly trying to keep the flies off a large open wound-a cancer on the knee-no dressings, no shelter, banished by the nausome disease from the family camp. We persuaded her son-in-law to return with us to the wagon and fetch what dressings we could send, and we ourselves, impressed by her sad plight and feeling she could not hold out long, determined to baptize her if we could. Language was the difficulty; but the Fathers spoke English, McCabe, the driver, English and Dutch, and Franz spoke Dutch and Kaffir (Bechuana). Accordingly off I started again with Father Boos, a fervent priest anxious for his first baptism, and our inter-

preters. On arriving, we found the poor creature alone, still fanning the terrible wound. Without losing a moment we sat round, and so had possession of the kraal before the family saw us. Some clean lint kept off the flies and dirt, and the poor sufferer looked pleased as she took our first offering of two oranges and put them beside her. Then began the instruction: I primed McCabe, who in turn instructed Franz, and Franz the catechumen. Meanwhile her family gathered round. We soon found she had heard of God and the after-life, and presently she took my crucifix in both hands, and looking up to heaven made a fervent prayer aloud. To further questions she replied she did not want to learn religion from a book, and having been satisfied on that point she readily consented to become a Christian. After a little more instruction, with great humility and devotion 'Maria' received the Sacrament of Baptism. It was a striking scene. She could not suffer much longer we thought, so having done what we could we returned to the wagon singing our Laudate."

How the Church of England washed her face.

WHEN the continuity of Anglicanism with the Church of England is questioned, and the serious nature of the Reformation changes is insisted upon, the Church Defence lecturer has his ready reply in a comparison which is considered to settle the controversy without need of further examination. What the Reformation did was to sweep away certain Popish abuses which had sprung up in the middle ages, and tarnished the primitive purity of doctrine. The Church of England "washed her face," an operation which did not involve then, any more than it does elsewhere, a dissolution of personal identity. In the mouth of a Protestant who glories in that designation, the similitude is in some sense intelligible. Whether continuity was broken or not, there was certainly a transition of English belief from a doctrinal system which Protestants regard as filthy to one which they regard as pure. But Dean Hook, who first used the phrase, believed, when he spoke of the Church "washing her face," that the spirit actuating the Reformation changes was Catholic in the sense in which High Churchmen understand the term. And the Dean has managed to read this idea into his history of the period so completely, that, as a writer in the Guardian of September 17, 1890, has observed, "any one might read his Lives of Parker and Grindal without discovering that they were distinctly Zwinglian, and would find the Calvinism of Whitgift almost concealed." In this strange perversion of history he has been followed by modern advocates of continuity, who probably rely largely for their facts on a convenient work like the Dean's Archbishops of Canterbury. There are other High Churchmen, however, who have given heed to the new publications of original documents, and the more exhaustive studies of recent years, and they have come to a very different conclusion as to the character and effect of the Tudor measures. For them the scrubbing-brush was dipped in very muddy water indeed. Not till the days of Laud, nearly a century later, did any operation which could be

called washing take place, and then the dirt removed was just that which the Tudor changes had laid on:

There is no history of the Church of England which gives any adequate idea of the degradation into which religious observances had fallen at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and the consequence is that few people understand the immense debt of gratitude which they owe to Archbishop Laud for the recovery from that condition—a recovery almost wholly due to his indefatigable endeavours to restore a more Catholic tone to doctrine and practice. We propose, therefore, in this and two following articles to supply this defect as far as may be possible. (Guardian, Nov. 9.)

These are the words of Mr. Pocock, words with which he begins his three recent articles in the *Guardian*¹ on the "Church of England in the Times of the Tudors and Stuarts." Mr. Pocock's authority on the Reformation period is well known, and he is a leader among those who have pointed out that till the time of Laud hardly a vestige of modern High Church views can be discovered. It is to be hoped that he will republish his three valuable articles. Meanwhile, as their interest is so great, we propose to set before our readers a summary of their contents.

Mr. Pocock's purpose is to show that the Elizabethan Church passed through an original Zwinglianism to more and more pronounced Calvinism, and that the passage was attended by a parallel downward progress in the religious spirit and morality of the country.

Elizabeth's religious policy, though worked out under different conditions, was in principle identical with that of her father. She probably felt very little attraction for Protestantism in itself, and was certainly averse to its harsher manifestations. She placed herself at its head, because circumstances indicated this position as her best chance of maintaining and enlarging her sovereignty. The two ideas in reference to ecclesiastical affairs which she had most at heart, were that the Bishops were nothing but her delegates, and that Church property was an excellent quarry for replenishing her finances. Her well-known answer to the Bishop of Ely illustrates the first of these points:

Proud Prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement, but I would have you know that I who made you what you are can unmake you, and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement by God I will immediately unfrock you.

¹ See Guardian, Nov. 9, Nov. 23, Nov. 30.

And, says Mr. Pocock:

Cecil regarded them as mere officers of the State. . . . Among his memoranda occurs the following: "It is expedient that the Queen shall be well informed of the sufficiency of the Bishops, with a view to the removal or reform of such as are out of credit with the people under their charge for their manifest insufficiency or covetousness." . . . Neither can any other view of the office of a Bishop be found in any utterance till near the time when Bancroft preached his celebrated sermon in 1588.

Of the Queen's inroads on the Church lands he gives the following account:

By an Act passed in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, the Queen was empowered to exchange the lands of any vacant bishopric for impropriate tithes which had belonged to the monasteries in the diocese. The Act provided that the exchange should be on equal terms. But during the vacancy of the see there was no one to raise objections, and the exchange effected was simply robbery, the newly appointed Bishop being generally some insignificant person who was glad enough to accept the preferment, however impoverished and clogged with uncomfortable conditions. . . . Grindal, it seems, had scruples whether he ought to accept a bishopric fettered with such conditions, and applied by letter to his friend Peter Martyr for advice. But before he received any answer he had decided the question on his own responsibility, and consented to the spoliation, without which he would never have succeeded to the see of London, rendered vacant by the deprivation of the celebrated Edmund Bonner. The value of the lands taken from Canterbury alone was £1,300, which is equivalent to several thousand pounds of the present day. And it appears from a letter written by the Queen herself, which has never been printed, that the long delay which took place before the confirmation of the elects of Canterbury, London, and Ely, was owing chiefly to the fact that the exchange between these sees and the Crown of certain temporalities had not yet been effected. The same account has to be given of the long intervals that took place between the death or translation of a Bishop and the appointment of his successor. The sees had been in some cases stripped too much to admit of any further spoliation, but it was easy to appropriate the revenues of the bishopric during the vacancy of the see, and this is the only reason to be assigned for the average interval of two to three years during which each bishopric was from time to time kept vacant; as well as for the fact that Bristol and Ely were each without a Bishop for thirty years of the reign. Oxford enjoyed episcopal superintendence for exactly three years and six months during the forty-four years of the reign of Elizabeth, the revenue of the see going to Sir Francis Walsingham, who was accused

when he founded a divinity lecture in the University of hiding sacrilege under the pretence of propagating truth. This system of spoliation was continued all through the reign at each successive avoidance of a see; so that when Day succeeded Wickham at Winchester in 1596 he demurred to surrendering a rent charge of £400 a year, on the ground that the see which had been estimated at £3,000 a year would then be reduced to £500. He was thereupon suspended by the Queen till he had made a compromise much, it was said, to the prejudice of his successors in the bishopric, but as he himself expressed it, as much as his conscience would allow.

Nor was it the Sovereign only who saw in the Church property mainly an opportunity for plunder:

We have said that the Bishops were for the most part insignificant persons. Many of them were also men of indifferent character, and few of them are altogether free from the imputation of nepotism, covetousness, truckling to the civil authorities, impoverishing their sees by letting out the lands on long leases, and in more than one or two cases, one an Archbishop, purloining the lead from the cathedrals.

And again, in the second article:

I suppose I should not be far from the truth if I were to describe the Episcopate of Elizabeth's reign as having scarcely any other history than that of entering upon their bishoprics under simoniacal contracts made with the Queen or her favourites, of spoiling their dioceses to the prejudice of their successors during their occupancy of the see, of engaging in suits for dilapidations upon a death or translation between the newly appointed Bishop and the outgoing prelate or his heirs.

Mr. Pocock tells us, "it is no subject for wonder that the Bishops are such as we have described them. The choice for the Queen and her sagacious Minister was very limited," and all the bishoprics save one had to be filled up. Perhaps the Queen and her Minister had independent reasons for not desiring men of much character. Better men, even if they were to be found among the Protestants, would have been less pliant instruments in the royal hands. Still, as Mr. Pocock reminds us, her choice was limited to a certain class, the men of Protestant leanings, who on her sister's accession had fled into Germany and Switzerland:

Of the clergy who had been imprisoned or banished during the reign of her sister Mary, there were two classes who may be roughly designated as Zwinglians and Calvinists. Those who had been imprisoned had such violent altercations that one party refused to communicate with the others, whom they designated as free-willers,

because they would not commit themselves to all the horrors of an unmitigated Calvinism. They were also at issue about certain minor matters, such as the lawfulness of playing at bowls. Quarrels of a similar kind had originated amongst the exiles, who had been refused admission at all places where Lutheranism prevailed, being designated by the Lutherans as the devil's martyrs, because of their supposed adoption of the tenets of Zwingli or Calvin. They had settled in various towns of Switzerland and in considerable numbers at Frankfort. Here violent altercations arose, the moderate party being content to abide by the Zwinglian form of doctrine which as they thought pervaded the Second Prayer-book of the reign of Edward VI., whilst the more fanatical considered the book as too Papistical, and were for a further reformation of it, such as had been contemplated at the time of the premature death of the King. These latter retired in a body to Geneva and Basel. Speaking generally these were Calvinists and the others Zwinglians. The two systems may be sufficiently, though, perhaps, roughly described as the one consisting mainly in the disparagement or denial of sacramental grace, the sacraments being regarded as symbols and not instruments of grace; the other, pronouncing the sacraments as in some way efficacious, but only to the elect, by increasing the grace they previously possessed and from which it was impossible for them entirely and finally to fall away. Zwinglianism had been, however, somewhat on the wane since the Consensus Tigurinus of 1549, when rationalism seemed for a time to have bowed before the piety and the genius of Calvin. Such were the parties from which Bishops had to be chosen, and for the most part the preference was given to the Frankfort and Zurich exiles who adopted the more moderate position, and were likely to give less trouble to the civil power.

We can thus perceive what was the doctrinal position of the Elizabethan Hierarchy, how far removed they were from the thoughts of modern High Churchmen. Cheney, the former tutor of Campion, who became Bishop of Gloucester, was the only one among them who was so much as a Lutheran in his views, and his Lutheranism brought him into trouble. That such people had no conception of anything Divine or sacramental in their office goes without saying:

As to the belief in an Apostolical succession in the Episcopate, it is not to be found in any of the writings of the Elizabethan Bishops. Unmistakable evidence of this as regards Bishop Jewel of Salisbury exists in his correspondence with Archbishop Parker with regard to the interference of Lancaster, Archbishop-elect of Armagh, in ordaining priests in his diocese. It seems that Lancaster had taken upon himself to admit divers persons into holy orders, and amongst them one whom Jewel had for eight years, for what appeared to himself good reasons,

refused to ordain. He makes no complaint of the illegality, much less of the invalidity of the act, but only of the indiscretion of the Archbishop-elect. Now, this letter is dated April 26th, 1568, and June 13th in the same year Lancaster was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Meath and Kildare. If he is the same person who had held the see of Kildare 1550-4, he must either have acted as Bishop without being consecrated, or else he underwent a second consecration in 1568. There is nothing more wonderful in the whole history of the Church in England at a time when probably not a single Bishop was to be found who believed in his own Divine commission or in the efficacy of the sacraments, when almost without exception they were indifferent to any other considerations than that of promotion and the providing for their own families.

Mr. Pocock does not discuss the bearing of this general disbelief in the sacramental character of Holy Orders on the validity of the Orders conferred. Personally he would evidently say that it had none; that by God's singular providence a sufficient rite had been administered by prelates sufficiently qualified, and that validity was therefore happily secured. The Guardian (Nov. 9th) also takes this line, in a leader on Mr. Gilbert Child's article in the November Contemporary. It is there maintained that the intention of the minister being acknowledged even by (Roman) Catholics to be merely the intention to do whatever our Lord may have intended by the ceremony, no argument against the Elizabethan Orders can be raised on this ground. It would be beside our purpose to enter adequately into this question. We would remark by the way that an equivocation lurks in this representation of the Catholic doctrine. the form employed is free of ambiguity, and has its own certain sense attached to it by the Church which sanctions it, the intention above stated is enough, and there may consequently be valid administration even when there are heretical views as to the meaning of the form in the mind of the officiating minister. But when the form employed is ambiguous, still more when the ambiguity is determined in an heretical sense by the authorities who draw it up, an heretical acceptation of its meaning in the mind of the officiating minister can render his act invalid. This is only according to the ordinary laws of speech. When words are plain we go by their plain meaning; when they are ambiguous, we look to the mind of the speaker to determine which of the possible senses comprised within the ambiguity is intended. Now the form of ordination used under Elizabeth was at the least ambiguous. When compared with the Catholic

ordinals in previous use, we see that it had been altered in such a way as to lend itself to the Zwinglian doctrine, according to which the essence of ordination lies in appointment by public authority to minister in the congregation, and the religious rite is merely a ceremonious mode of conferring the appointment.1 Such a rite in the hands of men with views like these Elizabethan clergy is held by us to be clearly invalid.2

To return from this digression. Other sacraments fared worse than Orders. Extreme Unction disappeared for ever.

As regards the rite of confirmation, there seems every reason to believe that it was seldom administered even in the early days of Elizabeth. We know for certain that it was much neglected towards the end of the sixteenth century. The early age at which it had been usual to administer it probably formed an excuse for its gradual disuse, for it is not likely that any Bishop in the reign of Elizabeth believed in it as anything else but a ratification of the baptismal promises on the part of the recipient of the rite.

Such is Mr. Pocock's account of the Bishops. Of the inferior clergy he has as unpleasant a tale to tell. The Church Defence doctrine is that the Elizabethan changes were generally felt to be both necessary and becoming, even by the Catholics, who accordingly found little difficulty in conforming: that the number of the clergy who stood out and started the "Roman schism" in the country fell short of two hundred. Catholic writers have often shown the untenability of this view. But in vain: it is still preached up and down the country, and even Archbishops have not refused to smile upon it. Will they now abandon this unhistorical contention, in view of Mr. Pocock's testimony against it?

What is commonly affirmed that all the clergy conformed to the new order with the exception of about 200 cannot possibly be true. That number nearly represents the number of Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons of Cathedrals, heads of houses, and Fellows of Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge who are known to have refused to adopt the new service of the Prayer-book, which, it must not be forgotten, was materially different from that which is in use now. And the great number of ordinations which took place in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and the number of priests and deacons ordained from time to time, prove that there must have been a large number of vacancies in the parsonages of the country. It is impossible that the

¹ Cf. Art. xxiii., which contains a similar studied ambiguity.

² Cf. Estcourt, Anglican Orders, cc. iv. v.

number should have been so small as 192, as thirty-four years later, in the year 1602, the number of Roman priests who were living peaceably and giving no trouble to the authorities is spoken of as being considerable. The survivors of persons who were priests in 1558 could have been counted on the fingers in 1602 if there had been, as has been alleged, only 192 at the earlier date. Moreover, we know that in many dioceses a large proportion of the parishes were not served at all. Again, in the first year of Grindal's episcopate many of the clergy had obtained licence to live beyond seas, upon what was called misliking of religion, and their places were partially filled by thirty different ordinations which he held, at which he admitted 160 deacons and nearly as many priests to holy orders, a much larger number than can be accounted for by the deaths of incumbents or curates. . . . Archbishop Parker, too, held five ordinations at Lambeth in less than three months after his consecration, at the last of which alone there were 155 priests and deacons ordered. The same conclusion comes out from the information given, January 24, 1561, by the Bishop of Ely-viz., that of the 152 churches in his diocese only 52 were properly served, there being 34 that had neither rectors nor vicars. It appears also that in the diocese of Norwich about half of the eight or nine hundred parishes had no rector or vicar, though the want was in some places supplied by a curate. And in the year 1565, so great was the destitution that the returns from about half the dioceses show that nearly a thousand parishes were wholly without spiritual superintendence. In the diocese of Lincoln there were about 100 vacant cures, whereas in two Welsh dioceses there were none. Is it conceivable that here and in the Isle of Man, where there could scarcely have been services in the vernacular, there being no translations of either Bible or Prayer-book, the older clergy should have continued their ministrations for a time after the old fashion? About the same time Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, says of his 1,200 churches 430 were vacant. If this is not sufficient to prove that the clergy did not all conform, what is the meaning of Jewel's observation in his letter to Peter Martyr, August 1, 1559? "Now that religion is everywhere changed the Mass priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were the greatest impiety to have anything in common with the people of God." (Zurich Letters, i. p. 39.)

If the clergy were so largely Catholic, we can assume that the laity were similarly disposed towards the old faith: and we should anticipate the same distinction among them of a smaller number remaining true to their faith at all costs, and a large majority yielding outward conformity out of deference to the times, while they preserved their Catholicism in secret. And so it was. We have Mr. Green's well-known testimony that not till late in her reign would it have been safe for Elizabeth to take a religious census of the nation. Mr. Pocock cites a

passage from an interesting account of the diocese of Chichester in 1569, which tells in the same direction.

In many churches they have no sermons, not one in seven years, and some not one in twelve years. Few churches have their quarter sermons according to the Queen's injunctions. In Boxgrave there is a very fair church and therein is neither parson, vicar, nor curate, but a sorry reader. In the deanery of Medhurst there are some beneficed men which did preach in Queen Mary's days and now they do not, nor will not, and yet keep their livings. Others are fostered in gentlemen's houses, and some betwixt Surrey and Hampshire, and are hindrances of true religion, and do not minister. Others come not at their parish church, nor receive the Holy Communion at Easter: but at that time get them out of the country until that feast be passed. In the church of Arundel certain altars do stand yet to the offence of the godly. They have yet in many places images hidden and other Popish ornaments ready to set up the Mass again within twenty-four hours' warning. In the town of Battle when a preacher doth speak anything against the Pope's doctrine, they will not abide, but get them out of the church. In many places the people cannot yet say their Commandments, and in some not the articles of their belief. In the Cathedral Church of Chichester there be very few preachers resident; of thirty-one Prebendaries scarcely four or five. Few of the aldermen of Chichester be of a good religion, but are vehemently suspected to favour the Pope's doctrine, and yet they be Justices of the Peace.

The number of those who conformed was very considerable, and we should be far from denying it. Martyrs are seldom other than a small minority, and that was an age of which fortitude was far from being a characteristic. Still Mr. Pocock is with us in judging that their conformity was outward only.

The apparent acquiescence of many was, perhaps, less due to an approval of the changes than to the hope they entertained that either they might be only temporary or that they might perhaps eventually be sanctioned by the Pope. Many gradually dropped off as such hopes began to appear illusory, and this in part accounts for the gradual increase of the Roman party all over the country.

This widespread refusal to conform and still more general dislike of the new doctrines caused great difficulty to the Crown and the Bishops. What had happened two centuries previously repeated itself, though without the same excuse. Then the Black Death had almost denuded the country of its clergy, and necessitated the recruiting of their ranks by persons of no proper education or preparation. The Reformation itself was but the distant consequence of the evil. Now a still direr

scourge had passed over the country, and left the flock without shepherds to feed it. And those who had done the deed must needs have recourse again to the ranks of the uneducated and unprepared to supply their own conception of the shepherd's office. Grindal's experience at London, in the first ordination he held, is mentioned by Mr. Pocock as a typical case. "Few of his candidates had a University or any other education, most of these being tradesmen or mechanics of mature age, many being over forty, one of fifty, and another of sixty." And, again, we read:

In February, 1585, at an interview between the Queen in Council and some of the Bishops, Burleigh accused them of making many rude and unlearned ministers, instancing particularly Overton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who made seventy ministers in one day, some shoemakers and other craftsmen, to which the reply of the Bishop of Rochester was that if they would have none but learned ministers admitted, and he had himself never ordained more than three at once, better livings must be provided for them, and the Archbishop of Canterbury added that it was impossible for the realm to provide learned preachers enough for the thirteen thousand parishes. To this the Queen rejoined with an oath that what she wanted was not learned men, who were not to be found, but honest, sober, and wise men, and such as can read the Scriptures and homilies unto the people.

And yet after all "many churches were served by laymen:" for "the Bishops were at their wits' ends to find men to fill the vacant ones."

These clergy of the second order outran their superiors in their Protestant proclivities. The Bishops were Zwinglian. The clergy were Calvinistic.

Calvinism, which subsequently overran the whole Church, was the dominant creed even at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. For though Elizabeth's first appointed Bishops were of the Zwinglian rather than of the Calvinistic school, the laity, as well as the majority of the clergy who had fallen in with the new learning, were for the most part Calvinists, the tenets of the French Reformer having already been extensively adopted, though their great development in the country belongs to a later date.

Calvinism was firmly enthroned at the Universities. Thus the Cambridge authorities in 1581, returning thanks to Beza, who had presented them the famous Codex D of the Bible, say: "We assure you that, saving the unique position which we recognize in Holy Scripture, there are no writers of any age

whose works we esteem of higher value than those of that remarkable man, John Calvin, or your own." And at Oxford, in 1579, a statute was passed: "That the younger members of the University should be instructed either in Calvin's or in the Heidelberg Catechism, and that they should afterwards read the works of the Swiss divine, Bullinger, who had succeeded Zwingli as a teacher at Zurich, and the Institutes of Calvin." Another cause and witness of the prevalence of Calvinism was the popularity of the Geneva Bible—the Breeches Bible, as it is usually called. This was a translation made at Geneva by the English Calvinists "fortified with marginal notes, short and terse and much to the point, intermixed with a good deal of Calvinistic misinterpretation;" and "the form of belief fostered by these notes can scarcely be said to have expired till the present century, if indeed it does not still survive here and there among members of the Church of England." This version was hateful to the Queen, and also to Parker and the Bishops, who with an exception or two were Zwinglians. These tried to suppress it, but in vain. It was the version most used in churches, and one hundred and forty editions of it were printed before it was effectually suppressed a century later on by Laud. When Grindal, who had Calvinistic tendencies, succeeded Parker in the Primacy, this Genevan Bible began to be printed in England, and a Calvinistic Catechism of a pronounced character was inserted between the two Testaments.

We naturally inquire in what manner these new ministers, so uncultivated and fanatical, discharged their official duties, and what was the general effect on the religious worship of the country. Mr. Pocock meets our desires with several extracts.

Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, had attributed the burning of St. Paul's Cathedral to a judgment of God on the "walkings, talkings, chidings, fightings which had been going on in the church, and that especially in time of Divine Service." And the same Bishop, not in the impassioned language of a sermon, but in a sober piece of writing, says:

"Come into a church the Sabbath day, and ye shall see but few, though there be a sermon, but the ale-house is ever full. Woe worth the Papist therefore, in this kingdom, for they be earnest, zealous, and painful in their doings. . . . A Popish summoner, spy, or promoter will drive more to a church with a word, to hear a Latin Mass, than seven preachers will bring in a week's preaching to hear a godly sermon. O what a condemnation shall this be, to see the wicked so diligent and earnest in their doings to set up anti-Christ, and Christian rulers and

officers of all sorts having the whip of correction in their hands by God's law, and the Princes have so coldly behaved themselves in setting up the kingdom of Christ, that neither they give good examples themselves in diligent praying, and resorting to the church, nor, by the whip of discipline, drive others thitherward."

This was in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign. Later on we have a report sent to the Council by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners regarding the condition of the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire. They say that:

Small reformation has been made as may appear by the emptiness of the churches on Sundays and festivals, and the multitude of bastards and drunkards. Preachers are few; most parsons unlearned, and those that are learned non-resident, divers unlearned persons being daily admitted by the Bishops to rich benefices. Many, even Justices and coroners, have never communicated for more than thirty years. The people so swarm in the streets and ale-houses during service-time that in many churches there is only the curate and the clerk, and open markets are kept during service-time. Cock-fights and other unlawful games are tolerated on Sunday during Divine Service, and Justices of the Peace and Ecclesiastical Commissioners are often present.

And a century later Mr. Pocock thus presents us with the picture of the state of affairs which Laud was endeavouring to remedy.

The account of the state of things which the Archbishop [Laud] set himself to remedy would simply be incredible were it not attested by hundreds of contemporary documents, which Protestant historians have found it convenient to pass over in silence, but which can no longer be ignored, since they have been analyzed and their contents calendared in the volumes of State Papers issued under the authority of the Master of the Rolls.

From these documents it appears that the ordinary matins and evensong, the only service used on Sunday in the churches, was said by the minister, who, in most cases, wore no surplice and curtailed the prayers in various ways, to make room for the sermon, if indeed he did not omit them altogether. The congregation sat, the men wearing their hats or not, as it suited their convenience, the Communion-table, standing in the body of the church, being made the receptacle for such hats and clothes as were not worn, and frequently used as a seat by any one who was not accommodated with a pew. Sometimes a clergyman will defend his practice by alleging that he has not worn a surplice for thirty years; and it is plain that its disuse had been gradually increasing as the Puritan ministers succeeded to the places of such priests as had conformed at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. During the time that Laud had held the bishopric of London he had exerted all his

influence to put down these irregularities, but he was sadly hampered by the class of Bishops with whom he had to deal, so great was their ignorance and worldliness. Wright, Bishop of Bristol, we must suppose was one of the better sort, for in 1632 Laud got him promoted to Lichfield and Coventry. Yet even he allowed the singing men of his Cathedral to act as if they were priests in laying hands on the clergy ordained by him, and he apologized to Archbishop Harsnet of York and Laud of London for having allowed this of very necessity, the Dean and Chapter not being available for the purpose.

And there were worse things even than these.

The Vicar-General of Lincoln says, in his Visitation of the diocese, September 19, 1634, that many Prebendaries had never seen the church, that ale-houses, hounds, and swine were kept in the churchyard very offensively: that at Louth the clergy and laity were much given to drunkenness, the goodly church of Boston much decayed, whilst at Huntingdon the vicar of Odell never used the surplice or the sign of the Cross at Baptism, and at Alesbury the clergy performed clandestine marriages with gloves and masks on. Neither are these at all exceptional cases. Even as late as October, 1637, we find the churchwardens of the parish of Knotting, in Bedfordshire, charged before the Official Commissary of the Archdeacon with having allowed for the last three years cock-fighting to go on in the chancel of the church, the minister of the church, with his sons, being present and enjoying the sport.

When we read of all this we are prone to ask if Norwich did not deserve congratulations rather than condolences, when, as its new Bishop reported in 1635, "in all the thirty-two churches in the city of Norwich there was not one in which there was any morning service or sermon."

Religious decadence like this could hardly fail to bring moral decadence along with it, and this is the description which Mr. Pocock gives of the reign of Elizabeth:

And now the question may fairly be asked, What was the effect of this kind of teaching upon the nation at large, or at least, whether directly consequent or not upon the religious teaching in the churches, what was the general standard of religion and morality in the country? This question can be approximately answered by reference to contemporary sermons and diaries and the State Papers of the period. The account given by Bristowe in his *Motives to the Catholic Faith*, published in 1575, must of course be looked on with some suspicion. After enumerating the results of Calvinistic teaching of the last sixteen years, he says he need not refer to the testimonies of Luther and Erasmus, because the deterioration of morals was most evident in our own country:

"Never was less humility and charity, never more whoredom and perjury, so that nothing is to be looked for but universal destruction and utter desolation."

He concludes his account as follows:

"And of all most ill, most wicked, and therefore everywhere most despised, most scorned, the superintendents and ministers themselves, that if a book should be made of their several behaviours, as it would presently be confessed, so would it of posterity be scarcely believed."

Some deduction has also to be made from the impassioned invectives of Protestant preachers such as the French convert John Veron, who says that he laments that many who were a match if they go to plain Scripture with any doctor of the Papist part, lived so abominably:

"Whoredom, drunkenness, and gluttony unto them is but sport and pastime. They backbite, they slander, they chide, and strive. Among them there is no modesty, no soberness, no temperancy. All deceit, all craft, all subtlety, and falsehood reigneth among them. Whereas if ye hear them dispute and reason of the Scriptures and Word of God, ye will think that they be very angels that be come down from Heaven.

So godly they talk. So godly they speak."

Such is the uniform testimony of the Reformers even in the reign of Edward VI. The witness given by Bradford, perhaps the most earnest and sincere of all the prominent members of the Protestant party, is too well known to need repetition here; and the character of the man renders it entirely trustworthy. The State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth bear the same testimony. On February 18, 1560, Horne, Dean of Durham, complains of the licentious manners of the people. In 1561 Scory, Bishop of Hereford, writing to Cecil, says that his Cathedral is a very nursery of blasphemy, whoredom, pride, superstition, and ignorance. The scandal had reached the Archbishop's ears, for in the following year he and the Bishop of London petitioned Cecil to get the Queen to authorize the Bishop to hold a Visitation of the Cathedral from time to time, "Whereby that church shall be purged of many enormities and God's glory greatly advanced." The Visitations, however, produced but little fruit, for twenty years later in a letter addressed to the Bishop the writer complains of the contrast between the listlessness of the service and the disregard of the truth of the Gospel in his day, and the fervour of the frequent services and the zeal and devotion which he could himself remember in the dark days of Queen Mary.

In the same year Bishop Best of Carlisle reports the priests of his diocese to be wicked imps of anti-Christ, false and subtle; and three years later Bishop Pilkington of Durham gives a most lamentable account of the northern counties, the wickedness of which he attributes to the neglect of their dioceses by the Bishops of Chester and Man.

We have confined ourselves almost exclusively in this article to criticisms from Mr. Pocock. It would have been possible

to confirm and supplement what he tells us from other sources, but, considering his high authority, it has seemed better to leave his statement as it stands, rather than to mix it up with facts, which, however true in themselves, might seem doubtful to an Anglican reader as coming from a suspected source.

Perhaps it may be pleaded in reply to this formidable indictment that the responsibility for the condition of things ought not to be laid exclusively on the backs of the Elizabethan clergy; that the same dissolution of morals and irreligious spirit had existed in the years immediately antecedent to the Reformation, and that such an Augean stable necessarily took a long time to cleanse.

We are far from denying that there was much demoralization to the earlier period referred to. On the contrary, we would trace to its existence the very possibility of the Reformation. Dom Gasquet, when commenting on the unsatisfactory condition of the clergy at the time when Henry VIII. began his evil course, quotes very appropriately a passage from Bellarmine:

I declare that false teaching, heresy, the falling away of so many peoples and kingdoms from the true faith, in fine all the calamities, wars, tumults, and seditions of these distressing times, take their source from no other cause than because pastors, and the other priests of the Lord sought Christ, not for Christ's sake, but that they might eat His bread. For some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy, as those testify who were then living, there was in ecclesiastical judgments hardly any severity, in morals no discipline, in sacred learning no teaching, towards holy things no reverence. The renowned glory of the clergy and sacred orders had perished; priests were despised, laughed at by the people, and lay under grave and constant infamy.¹

But the Anglicanism of Elizabeth and her successors, instead of effecting any amelioration in the country, made things much worse than before. Mr. Pocock, in a passage quoted above, has referred in illustration of this to a letter written about 1583 or 1584, to Scory, from his cathedral city of Hereford, by one whose sympathies were all on the Protestant side. Dom Gasquet has introduced this letter into the first chapter of his book on Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, and it is worth extracting:

Right honourable and reverend Father, my bounden duty always remembered. May it please your lordship to be advised or put in

¹ Concio de Dom. Lætare. Ap. Gasquet, Monasteries, i. p. 20.

memory that in the dark days of Queen Mary the Dean then and clergy of your Cathedral Church of Hereford, did orderly observe their superstitious orders and were present thereat continually, except certain days of license which are called days of jubilee, and did preach their superstitious dregs not only but also did in their outward living keep great hospitality, for every night at midnight they with the whole vicars choral would rise to Matins, and especially the domydary for the week being, would be first there at five o'clock in the morning, at St. Nicholas Mass, then at other Masses at certain altars, then at eight of the clock our Lady's Mass was solemnly said, then at nine the Prime and None, then the High Mass was in saying until it was eleven of the clock, besides every man must have said his own private Mass at some one altar or other daily. Then after dinner to evensong until five o'clock, in which time of service a number of tapers were burning every day and there was great incensing at the high altar daily to their idols and there was a lamp burning day and night continually before their gods, and every Sabbath-day and festival-days St. Thomas' bell should ring to procession, and then the Dean would send his somner to warn the mayor of the procession, and then upon the somner's warning the mayor would send the serjeants to the parish churches, every man in his ward to the aldermen, then the aldermen would cause the parish priest to command all the free men to attend on the mayor to the procession and sermon, or lecture (if) for want of a sermon there should be a lecture in the chapter-house every Sabbath and holy day notwithstanding they were at High Mass in the choir. So zealous and diligent were the temporality then in observing those dregs of the clergy. Then the Dean and clergy would come so orderly to church with such a godly show of humbleness and in keeping such hospitality that it did allure the people to what order they would request them. This is true for I did see and know it, but then did I as a child and knew not the truth and then such heavy burdens were but light, but now in these joyful days of light how heavy is it amongst a number of us to come two hours in the day to serve the true God, the everlasting King of all glory, but too lamentable to think on it, and much more grievous to him that did see the blind zeal in darkness so observed, and now in the true light and pathway to salvation neglected. Then were these tapers and lamps greatly plentiful with incensing to idols most costly even in the clearest day of summer, and now not scarce one little candle is allowed or maintained to read a chapter in the dark evening in the choir. And as for resorting to hear the truth of the Gospel it is little regarded. I will not nor dare say in those that reap the fruits thereof, although I speak the truth notwithstanding the visitation.

Had the change been from error to truth, it should have been attended with a marked improvement in religious fervour and morals: just as has invariably been the result when any Catholic reformers, like St. Francis and St. Dominic, or like St. Ignatius, have risen up and warred against the sinfulness of their age. Since the transition was from bad to much worse, and we have a direct causal connection between the increased evil and the "new learning," we can only apply the principle, "By their fruits you shall know them."

It would be unjust in itself and contrary to our own wishes not to notice the other side of Mr. Pocock's picture. purpose of his articles is not merely to show up the state of religion under Elizabeth and James as quite unworthy of our sympathy, but to bring into prominence the work of Laud in effecting an improvement. It was then that High Church ideas were first originated, and it was natural that the attempt should be made to graft these on the organization which these strivers after better things found in existence among them. It was over this that Laud laboured during the thirty years of his episcopate, with success which Mr. Pocock judges considerable, and though the Rebellion cut short his life and interrupted his work, since Juxon and Sheldon, Gunning, Wren, and others who took it up again after the Restoration, were men of his formation, he may justly be credited with the paternity of their labours and results. In some sense also Mr. Pocock seems to be right in attributing to them "the late development (of the recovery at the Restoration) of which, after two hundred and thirty years of a wonderfully chequered history, we are in the present enjoyment of." That is to say, although the Anglican Church relapsed into its earlier condition of religious apathy and neglect, and had its fits of Puritan revivalism, till close on our own times, and although, on the other hand, the ideas now in favour with the High Church party go far beyond any that can be found in the works of the Caroline divines, still the ideas generated under Laud and his more immediate successors have persisted, and have been among the true causes of the modern movement.

We have said that we have no wish to ignore this Laudian reformation, but rather every wish to view it sympathetically. It was a movement towards, not away from, Catholic truth as we understand it; and it has always seemed to us a matter for great regret that High Churchmen should regard us, rather than the Puritan party, as the objects of their special doctrinal antipathy; and matter for still greater regret that Catholics should have reacted on this hostility of certain Anglicans towards them by employing bitter language and indulging at

times (at times only) in harsh feelings. There is no doubt that men like Dr. Littledale in the past, and a few others who might be named in the present, by their gross unfairness and manifest insincerity are responsible for a great deal of this irritation among us. But why must we take these men as typical of the entire party? Cannot we remember other names besides theirs, and do we not often meet in private life with Anglicans who are equally conspicuous for their fairness and friendliness? If there is a Church Times with a gallery that it can play to, is there not also a Guardian, which is always fair and courteous? And if we thus admonish ourselves, may we not appeal also to all truth-loving Anglicans to meet us in the same spirit? It is at all events in this spirit that we invite attention to Mr. Pocock's picture of the religious collapse under Elizabeth and James; that is to say, not in the way of exultation over the discomfiture of an Anglican illusion, but rather in the way of hope that a better understanding between us may be promoted. Modern High Churchmen have no responsibility, unless they go out of their way to assume it, for all this revolting lawlessness which Mr. Pocock describes. They are quite entitled to detest it all as a deplorable calamity, and to attach themselves in preference to the real amelioration dating from Laud. But then it follows that the movement to which they belong represents not a departure from the Catholic ideal, as it is understood by all others save themselves, but an approximation towards it. And if it is such, is it not becoming that, like many of the older Tractarians, they should not regard us as their special foes, but rather as persons with whose religious position they can have more sympathy than with any other. And should not our feeling for them be of a kindred character? We cannot, indeed, deem them to be members of the Church, but we can feel towards them as towards men who are nearer to us than others, by reason of the attraction they feel for many Catholic doctrines and practices. If there were any hope that Mr. Pocock's articles would assist in putting an end to the rancour which the late Dr. Littledale's methods of controversy have brought so much into use, they would indeed have done a good work.

The Monita Secreta and the Society of Jesus.

WE may often find at least a strong presumption to guide us in our judgment about some suspected document, by selecting one or two representative specimens of men who, having to decide whether they could use it in behalf of their own views, have either honestly confessed that it is a forgery, or have arrived at the conclusion that to make use of it is very unsafe. We will therefore begin a few short remarks on the *Monita Secreta*, attributed to the Society of Jesus, by mentioning the examples of a few typical adversaries of the Order who have felt that they could gain no credible support from a quarter so untrustworthy.

Among the enemies of the Society, it is not easy to find one more bitter than the Protestant historian, Huber. Yet he is obliged to confess that the *Monita Secreta* are not the instructions of a genuine document. "My own opinion," he says, "coincides with that of the Protestant historian, Gieseler, that the *Monita* are a forgery and a satire on the Order." He then quotes several passages which, he remarks, cannot possibly have been the work of any but a satirist desiring to bring discredit on the Jesuits; as for instance, the argument for choosing only rich towns wherein to found Colleges, because forsooth the object of the Society is to imitate Jesus Christ, and He preferred to fix His dwelling at Jerusalem, but smaller places He merely passed through.\(^1\)

Another enemy of the Society, Professor Reusch, passes a similar sentence on the *Monita*. "In spite," he says, "of repeated explanations by the Jesuits, it has been sometimes believed that the *Monita* are really a set of secret rules of conduct issued by the Superiors of the Society; but the book is without all doubt a mere satire."

¹ Huber, Jesuitenorden, p. 106.

³ Reusch, Index der verbotenen Bücher, ii. 281.

Any one again who has read the fourth chapter of a work in which Mr. J. A. Symonds airs his views about the Catholic reaction against the Renaissance, will remember the very unfavourable picture that he there draws of the Jesuits. description is just what they would have expected from him. Rashness of statement is a charge on which he may be convicted over and over again, from evidence which would carry the verdict in any respectable law-court. When, therefore, he restrains himself from a damaging accusation for fear of rashness in statement, we may depend upon it that he has very plain reason for his cautiousness. Now as regards the Monita Secreta, he confesses that "it would be rash to pronounce an opinion upon this esoteric code of rules;" and then he tries to make up for his disappointment by the remark that "the keensighted observer, Sarpi," noticed the secrecy of the Jesuit Constitutions, and "that probably the mistake which Sarpi and the world made was in supposing that the Jesuits need a written code for their most vital action. Being a potent and life-penetrated organism, the secret of their policy was not such as could be reduced to rule. Better than a rule of statute, it was a biological function. The supreme deliberative bodies of the Order created, transmitted, and continuously modified a tradition of policy," which "some member, partially initiated into their counsels, may have reduced to precepts in the published Monita Secreta of 1612. But the quintessential flame, which breathed a breath of life into the fabric of the Jesuits, through two centuries of organic activity, was far too vivid and too spiritual to be condensed into a charter. A friar and a jurist like Sarpi expected to discover some controlling code, and therefore, in the absence of direct evidence, is worth quoting. The public, grossly ignorant of evolutionary laws in the formation of social organisms, could not comprehend the non-existence of this code. Adventurers supplied the demand from their knowledge of the ruling policy. But, like the Liber Trium Impostorum, we may regard the Monita Secreta of the Jesuits as an ex-postfacto fabrication." All else in this citation we leave to the judgment of the reader; one point alone we wish to emphasize for ourselves; Mr. Symonds can find no way out of admitting that the Monita Secreta were written by a forger.

Another assailant of the Jesuits, the late Dr. Littledale, in his article on the Order written for the *British Encyclopedia*, is obliged to admit that, as a written composition, the

Monita Secreta is a forgery, in behalf of which he can only urge that an ex-Jesuit, looking back upon his past life in the Society, embodied its spirit in a definite code, and pretended that this was an authentic document. Of course we can imagine very upright people, if they really believed the Jesuits to be as insidious as they are sometimes represented to be, strongly denouncing their supposed wickedness, but we can hardly imagine these censors deliberately constructing a code and trying to pass it off as the work of incriminated men; for that, on any decent standard of morality, must count as gross lying.

Mr. J. A. Symonds and Dr. Littledale, among our own countrymen, cannot see their way to upholding the Monita Secreta as an authentic document, and though the historic weight of neither of them is anything considerable, yet their names have been quoted because of what is implied by such restraint in such quarters. But in spite of the open disavowal of Huber and Reusch, and the reserve of Symonds and Littledale, we have lately had the Monita quoted in public by one who makes claim to the higher culture, and to be an adept in the hidden wisdom that is to supplant Christianity. We should certainly have thought that even an ordinary sense of justice would have prevented a public lecturer from quoting as genuine a forgery, the true character of which a little investigation would have clearly established. To have resort to such expedients as these bodes ill for the cause that relies upon them.

We are not going to pretend, at this time of day, seriously to re-open the question of the *Monita Secreta*; the pages of THE MONTH years ago¹ did condescend to rehearse at some length the story of this most disgraceful forgery. If we undertook, in response to every repetition of the calumny, the labour of again and again going through the details of the fraud, the task would be as wearisome as it would be fruitless. But there is a class of people that will always continue to believe in spite of history, and for whom the *Provincial Letters* will always stand along with the *Monita Secreta* as sufficing for the absolute condemnation of Jesuitism, beyond any appeal to facts or reasonings.

But in brief outline here is the history of the *Monita Secreta*. The "concoction"—for that inelegant word suitably expresses the nature of the thing—was first circulated secretly and in

¹ July, 1873.

manuscript at Cracow, about the year 1612. Next it managed to get into print, with no editor's name attached, and with date and place of printing falsely given. So far the proceedings were decidedly underhand, as may be observed even by one who does not pretend to an acuteness equal to that of Mr. Symonds's "keen-sighted Sarpi." The next step was open, and taken in the opposite direction; the Bishop of Cracow denounced the Monita as a "calumnious libel," subjecting its author, whoever he might be, to severe penalties. Other authentic judgments to the same effect followed. It is probable that, as Dr. Littledale states, the defamation came from an ex-member of the Society who was seeking his revenge. At any rate, after an inquiry instituted by the Polish Nuncio, no certain sentence against an individual was pronounced, but suspicion rested on a priest, by name Zaorowski, who had recently been dismissed from the Order. The Court of Rome, not only by its agent in Poland, but also by its own Congregations, sought to repress the calumny.

The Sacred Congregation of the Index twice condemned the work, which it put on the list of prohibited books. Of course opponents may say that Rome was interested in supporting its own supporters; so it was, but interest and justice are not always at variance; nor were they so in the present case, as fair-minded investigators have abundantly allowed. The Order itself was also interested in its own good fame; in consequence, by command of the Father General, Mutius Vitelleschi, a lengthy defence of the Society in this affair was published, in 1617, by Father Gretser. In his first book Gretser examines the Monita in detail; in his second he disposes of the testimonies, anonymous and otherwise, which are brought against the Society; and in his third he adduces the testimonies of prelates and other magnates in favour of the Society and in condemnation of the Monita. His remark is sagacious, that the forged Monita Secreta are caricatures, by way of contrast with the genuine Monita Generalia, which were

¹ The approbation of Gretser's three books on the Monita by the theological faculty of Ingolstadt is strongly worded: "Omnia calumniorum plena sunt: quare non mirum est si iisdem apologiæ opponuntur, ne innocentia opprimatur. Ex quibus et hæc una est et contra anonymum quendam Copronymum in Polonia mendaciis et convitiis horrifice tumultuantem. Quam typis dignam arbitror ut obstruat ora loquentium iniqua." It is to be found in the tome containing vols. xi. and xii. of Gretser's works (Ratisbon, 1737), which are largely apologetic in behalf of the

published by Father General Aquaviva for the whole Society, without any caution like the forger's: "Let Superiors carefully keep in their own hands these secret instructions, and communicate them to very few, and those grave Fathers." A secret code of wickedness, administered by a few of the higher Superiors, is, to any one actually acquainted with the Society, and with its position as an approved Order in the Church, one of the wildest of impossibilities.

Father Gretser, though he gives a full account of the proceeding, does not endeavour to bring the charge of forgery home to Zaorowski. Indeed, it seems more settled that the culprit was an ex-Jesuit, than that this man, who was more than suspected, was the particular renegade. However, to punish the assailant is less important than to ward off the assault; and the latter success did attend the effort of the apologist. His work, in three books, was accepted as conclusive; for half a century the calumny, if it was not fast asleep, was at least in a constant state of doze, making at the end of that time efforts to wake itself up into activity. Even Mr. Symonds's friend, Paolo Sarpi, found it too extravagant for his belief, while Pascal passed it over in silence, which was more than absolutely all his fellow-Jansenists could do. first indeed the more intelligent of the Jansenist party refrained from using so frail a weapon against their powerful adversary; but about the middle of the eighteenth century the anti-Jesuit league, Jansenists among the rest, made much capital for themselves out of what was even a bad translation of an originally bad work. Even so, however, in the decrees banishing or suppressing the Society, no reliance is placed on so barefaced a forgery as the Monita Secreta. Down to the year 1786 fortytwo issues of the work can be counted; one of these, professing to issue from Rome 1782, had the courage or the ignorance to add the embellishment, "Now for the first time published!" In England, to which a fear of Jesuitry used sometimes to extend, a translation appeared dedicated to Richard Walpole; our two editions are dated 1725 and 1759; and recently among

We have not pretended to throw new light on our subject; for Gretser did the work of apology once and for all; and since

us a public lecturer has been precipitate and ill-informed enough to tell English people to accept the story told in the *Monita*.

 $^{^1}$ "Hæc Monita Secreta diligenter penes se servent superiores et paucis idque gravibus patribus communicent."

his time there is nothing new. He gives the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses and tribunals. Afterwards a rare attempt was now and then ventured upon at making believe that the Monita had actually been found in a Jesuit house; but many as were the colleges that were pillaged, nowhere could any good case be made out for the accusation, it being of course quite useless to produce a copy of the book simply as published by the enemy. Hence nothing is left but the sorry resource: Se non è vero è ben trovato. Mr. Symonds and Dr. Littledale urge this plea; to which it is enough to reply at present: Well, at any rate, the wickedness of the Society of Jesus cannot be proved from the Monita; they at most contain an expression of it; and whether they do that must be proved from other sources. As a ground of accusation the Monita are worthless; so much suffices to meet the charge lately brought against them which has misled the ignorant outside the Church and puzzled some Catholics who are not acquainted with the history of a very barefaced calumny.

The Assunta of Gozo.

THE predilection which our Lady has always shown in her manifestations for the humble and obscure things of this world was strikingly illustrated by the story of the supernatural communications which she held some nine years ago with a peasant man and woman at the sanctuary ta (or of) Pinu, in the island of Gozo.

There is much in the history and character of the Gozitans to account for why our Lady should have thus singled them out for her favours. When we consider that for nearly a century the Maltese Islands have been exposed to all the evils attending garrison town life, the brightness of the faith and the goodness of the lives of the majority of their inhabitants is indeed something wonderful. Their immunity from corruption may be owing to an element in the lives of both Maltese and Gozitans, which does not exist in most of the other blessed countries where the Catholic Faith and traditions have remained untouched, and have been suffered to permeate the lives of their people. To the Maltese and Gozitans heresy is a living reality, a horrible monster dwelling at their very doors, meeting them at every turn, and which they detest with a passion which rules their lives. They live in the midst of daily acts of irreverence, unconscious, indeed, on the part of the perpetrators, but none the less horribly real to those who witness them. It is true that the common sense of the Maltese attributes these acts of sacrilege, as well as all other acts opposed to the Catholic Faith, to the grossest and blindest ignorance, which inspires them with a profound pity, with something in it akin to contempt, for the dominant race which has settled down on them. This experience serves not only to quicken their faith, and render it proof against the evil and chilling influences which surround them, but also introduces an element of reparation into their devotions, probably unknown to other Catholic people who are happy enough to know the monster, heresy, only by hearsay.

Toil, ceaseless toil, only interrupted by the scrupulous observance of the holidays of the Church, has been another preservative against the evil influences in the midst of which these people live. Probably nowhere under the sun is the curse pronounced on Adam and his sons more exemplified than in Malta and Gozo; for man's daily bread has, as it were, to be wrung out of the hard rock by the sweat of his brow. By nature the islands which have been given to these people to be their home, are mere barren rocks, and but few natural aids are bestowed on those who spend their lives in cultivating them. It is true that the reward of their labours is great, as is testified by the productions of the islands, but it is only by dint of the hardest and most unceasing work that the stony, stubborn soil consents to yield its fruits. This constant toil, blessed as it has been to them both spiritually and temporally, has impressed a certain matter-of-fact solidity on the character of the people which is, as it were, typified by the sombre hue of the costumes of both men and women-a hue out of keeping with the blue sky and blue sea by which they live surrounded.

Such are these islanders: good, faithful, hard-working, and loyal children of the Church. What wonder, then, that our Lady should have chosen their home wherein to manifest herself and her power. Gozo, the island of her special choice, does not, happily for itself, possess those natural features which render Malta so valuable to the British Government, and has, therefore, been less exposed to its Anglicizing influences. In the goodness of the Gozitans there is a simplicity which is beautifully childlike, and which probably attracted our Lady's favours to them especially. For centuries their love for her has been tender and faithful; and now that she has condescended to speak in their midst they are very happy.

The sanctuary ta Pinu, the little chapel where, about nine years ago, our Lady spoke from the picture of her Assumption, stands isolated in a large stony stretch of field, in the parish of Garbo. It is a small, square, and unpretentious oratory, built of the stone of the country, and might, at first, be taken for one of the many boulders of rock which lie about, so insignificant an item of detail is it in the dazzling mixture of white and blue which makes up the landscape in these islands. To any one who knows the utter absence of all natural verdure

in the Maltese Islands it would be superfluous to say that neither tree nor any scrap of vegetation, save the crops in the fields, tend to conceal or give charm to the severe isolation of the sanctuary, standing solitary, as it does, in the middle of its scald plain of stony fields, surrounded at a distance by an amphitheatre of strangely shaped, square-topped hills, between which gleams the indescribably blue Mediterranean.

So hidden in its unostentatious publicity is the sanctuary, that, unless previously told the story of what took place there, no chance passer-by would think of turning from the road, down the beaten track which leads to it across the field.

Neither inside the little chapel is there anything (except the numberless *ex votos* which now cover its rough walls, and which tell their own tale) to seize the attention or distract it from the miraculous picture of the Assumption which hangs over the altar, and faces you as you enter. It was, as is testified by an inscription on it, painted in 1619 by Amedeo Perugino, in memory of one Pino Gauci, to whom the chapel owes its present name of *ta Pinu*, or "of Pino;" but whether it be an original painting, or the copy of some unknown original, is a mere matter of conjecture.

The picture itself would anywhere attract attention and inspires a strong feeling of devotion as you gaze at it. Our Lady with head inclined, eyes cast upward, and hands joined in prayer, is borne up on the heads of three cherubs. Four angels, two on either side, support her with their hands, gazing, as they do so, intently on her face; while the two upper ones are placing a crown on her head, while four cherubs also fill the corners. Down below are seen the empty tomb, and six of the Apostles. In spite of the extreme stiffness of the composition as a work of art, there is an aspect of calm devotion, devoid of all mere sentiment, in the figures and countenances of both our Lady and the attending angels, which grows under the gaze of the beholder, and leaves a memory behind it.

The first building of the chapel cannot be traced, though it is supposed to date from the fifteenth century. All that is positively known is that a certain tradition of sanctity has always been attached to it; and that its titular feast, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, has, through all the vicissitudes of its history, been kept with whatever solemnity the times admitted of, certain benefactors having at various times bequeathed sums of money for its proper observance.

The vicissitudes in its history have been extraordinary. Five different times since 1554 it has been allowed to fall into a state of ruin, and five times a decree from the Bishop of the day has been issued for its total demolition. Each time, however, it survived, and some benefactor came forward with the offer to rebuild and re-endow it. Once, tradition says, its destruction was so nearly consummated that the workmen were actually on the spot to carry out the Bishop's orders. But accident after accident occurred to those who laid a hand on the building, and the work of destruction being thus stayed, the peasants of the neighbourhood came in a body and built up the chapel, stone by stone, with their own hands. At some periods it was left in a state of complete desolation; at others, Mass was celebrated on days of obligation, but as, from its isolated position, the Masses said there were of no practical benefit to people as well supplied as are the Gozitans with parish churches, they were discontinued. In the middle of this present century an old priest, Don Giuseppe Cassar by name, took up his abode near the chapel out of devotion to Our Lady ta Pinu, for the purpose of saying Mass there every day; but after his death the building was suffered to fall into its former state of neglect and desertion, and was kept locked up. For the benefit, however, of those few whom devotion might prompt to visit our Lady, the key of the door was left under a stone in the field outside.

There is an unmarried woman of the village of Garbo, by name Carmela Grima, whose devotion to our Lady used to move her to visit the deserted sanctuary whenever she could find time to do so. Time, however, was a scarce commodity with Carmela, for she was part owner, with her sister, of a piece of land, which they cultivated with their own hands, and on the produce of which they depended for a living. This, together with the distance at which the chapel lay from her home, prevented her from going to ta Pinu as often as her heart prompted her; still, she felt such sorrow at the thought that our Lady should be neglected, that she made every effort in her power to visit her.

One day in June, 1883, about ten o'clock in the morning, Carmela was returning from her work in the fields, along the road from which branches out the foot-path leading to the chapel, reciting, as was her wont, certain favourite prayers as

she walked along. She was, that morning, in a hurry to reach her home, and had no intention to pay a visit to our Lady in her sanctuary, but as she approached the foot-track she heard a voice, proceeding apparently from the chapel, which called out to her three distinct times: "Come! come! come!" She looked all round to see if there were any one in sight who could have thus spoken, and, seeing no one, she stopped on her course with a feeling of awe. As she paused the voice continued: "Come to-day, for you will not be able to come back for a whole year." Carmela now felt but little doubt that it was our Lady who had spoken to her from the chapel, and she obeyed the summons with somewhat trembling steps, walking, according to her own account given later, very slowly. When she reached the chapel she looked cautiously through a little opening which was left in the door, fully expecting to see our Lady in person within; but the little chapel was, as usual, empty and deserted. Carmela then took the key from under the stone where it was kept, entered the chapel, and knelt down before her favourite picture.

She prayed for some time, experiencing an unusual interior joy; and, when she had finished the prayers which she usually said, she waited on her knees, wondering what more she ought to say. So convinced was she of our Lady's presence in the chapel that, with the utmost simplicity, she waited to receive directions from her. Then the same voice which she had heard before, and which apparently proceeded from the picture, spoke again and said: "Say three Hail Marys in honour of the three days that my body remained in the tomb." Carmela repeated the required prayers with unhesitating simplicity, and then, after waiting a little while, and hearing no more, she left the chapel, locking it behind her as usual, and returned home. For some unexplained reason she was unable to return to ta Pinu for a whole year.

Carmela treasured what she had heard in her heart, keeping silence about it for two years. At the end of that time she was moved to open her heart to a youth of holy life, named Francesco Portelli, who shared her devotion to Our Lady ta Pinu. When she asked him whether he had ever heard anything unusual while praying before her picture during his frequent visits to the sanctuary, he told her in confidence that on six different occasions our Lady had spoken to him from her picture, and had exhorted him to have great devotion to the

wounds on our Lord's shoulder, caused by bearing the Cross. Having confided in each other, these two good people kept the secret between them for nearly two more years.

To any one who knows the nature and habits of the people of Gozo, this silence of itself has something of the supernatural about it. It has been said, by one who ought to know, that it may be assumed that a minimum of mortal sins are committed in Gozo; and this may account for the fact that these simple childlike people have no secrets among themselves. Every action, every word, and even the very thoughts of each individual, seem by almost common consent to be the property of every one else, and are discussed with a kindly inquisitiveness. What you say and do in your secret chamber is by some mysterious process known all over the place, and your neighbour is better posted in the details of your daily life than you are yourself. Therefore, that Carmela and Francesco should not only have held their tongues, but that their secret should not have been divined in spite of themselves, is wonderful, and gives the impression that they must have received some supernatural intimation to keep silence.

The idea may occur to the English reader which has been discarded almost without hesitation in Gozo and Malta, viz., that the alleged communications from our Lady received by Carmela and Francesco were a fabrication of their own. Not only do the graces, both spiritual and temporal, which have been received at ta Pinu, disprove the theory that the devotion could have been founded on a lie, but the simple, practical Christianity of both Carmela and Francesco equally forbid such a thought. The impiety of attributing words to our Lady which she never spoke, and still more to affirm the same on oath before the Bishop, are sins which could scarcely be committed by these simple people, whose lives are as transparent as the day, and known to every one in the island.

Although they maintained their silence, it was not God's will that the favours bestowed by the Blessed Virgin should remain a secret. Early in 1887, nearly four years after our Lady had first spoken to Carmela, vague rumours of the revelations then made began to spread themselves abroad. A certain number of the more curious-minded visited the chapel, but found nothing to reward their curiosity save four bare walls, and the picture which had first kindled Carmela's devotion, hanging, as of yore, without even a lamp burning before it.

The key still lay under the stone in the field, and few except Carmela and Francesco had taken the trouble to remove it from its hiding-place during those four years. In spite, however, of the discouraging aspect of affairs, the rumours that our Lady had manifested herself in an extraordinary manner at ta Pinu, spread more and more, and a spontaneous, irresistible burst of devotion ran like wildfire over the whole island. Long before the crops made green the stony plain in which the chapel stood, crowds flocked to it from all quarters, and the field encircling it has been described as simply black with the kneeling multitude. First came processions of families and friends, reciting the Rosary—ever the favourite devotion in Malta and Gozo-and to these there succeeded more formal processions of whole villages headed by their clergy. All through the spring and summer of 1887 the sound of litanies and canticles filled the air from the first hour of dawn till late at night. It was a movement which no human power could stay.

For some time past the parish priest of Garbo had heard rumours of the alleged manifestations at ta Pinu, and had appealed to the Bishop for instructions how to act. The only answer he received was: "Wait! If there is any truth in what you have heard, the Blessed Virgin will find the means to let us know it." Now, however, he was besieged, not only by his own flock, but by strangers from all parts of the island, with inquiries and demands for some sanction for the growing devotion. Again he went to the Bishop for instructions how to meet the torrent of devotion.

Seeing that the people were taking the devotion into their own hands, the Bishop, Mgr. Pace, now Archbishop of Malta, directed the parish priest to send for Carmela and Francesco, and to examine them separately, taking down their depositions on oath, while he himself would examine them afterwards.

Carmela, when called on to speak, broke her long silence, and told her story simply, adhering to one unvarying version, in spite of the efforts of, first the parroco, and afterwards the Bishop, to puzzle her and make her contradict herself. Francesco's silence was more obstinate, and he refused to break it until required to do so by the Bishop in person. Even then he was laconic in his replies, and confined himself to briefly answering the questions put to him on oath, his answers being of a nature to substantiate the story as told above.

In a second inquiry held by the Bishop three years later, in 1890, Carmela adhered exactly to her narrative as told in 1887; but in this later examination it transpired that during the innumerable visits which she had paid to the sanctuary since our Lady first spoke to her in 1883, she had received several further communications from her. The substance of these was taken down on oath by order of the Bishop, but as far as the outer world is concerned, Carmela's silence remains unbroken, for the documents containing these later revelations, several of which are reported to take the form of prophecies, remain sealed and locked up from public view.

Such is the story. In spite of the publicity of their solemn attestation, and in spite of the increasing crowds which flocked to ta Pinu from Gozo, from Malta, and from beyond their shores, Carmela and Francesco still led, or, rather, are still leading, their hidden life as if nothing had occurred to single them out for observation. So completely has Francesco succeeded in obliterating himself, that though he still lives and labours at Garbo, and though his mother was the first person to be cured by Our Lady ta Pinu, his name is scarcely mentioned, and it is well-nigh impossible to obtain any details of his present state.

Carmela takes no special pains to conceal herself, being, all the same, most effectually concealed by the hidden simplicity of her life. She still lives on her little homestead with her sister, both, in the eyes of the world, being equally plain, middle-aged, toil-hardened, sun-tanned women. But those who have the happiness of seeing her, even though they cannot converse with her without the aid of an interpreter (for her own native Gozo tongue is the only language she speaks), feel that they are in the presence of one who has seen that which they themselves have not seen. There is a certain expression in her eyes, a certain indescribable pallor on her sunburnt countenance which startle those who behold her and make them realize the proximity of more than their senses are aware of. But her manners are perfectly natural, cheerful, and unselfconscious. As we saw her, standing under the archway of her old home, with its background of garden composed principally of rocks and prickly pears, standing, clad in her coarse blue cotton gown and coarser straw hat tied under her chin, no old-world lady of high estate could have surpassed

her in the beautiful courtesy of her manners, as she did all in her power to make us understand by dumb show that we were welcome under her roof. If you ask her to pray for you, she is prompt with her promises to do so, though a little astonished at the pointed manner in which the request is made. If asked to pray for any specified intention, she turns her head a little on one side, and after a few moments' silence, gives her opinion, simply, whether the petition will be granted or not. Though quite ready to repeat and talk about all those things connected with ta Pinu which are now known to everybody, if any attempt is made to draw further information from her, she responds by a strange mumbling movement of her lips which most effectually checks any further questioning on the part of the most inquisitive.

Though strangers may feel a reverence for her which might make them raise her toil-hardened hand to their lips, did they not know what pain and confusion it would cause her, those in the midst of whom she lives, make little or no fuss about her. She is to her fellow-villagers just simply Carmela Grima, the owner of certain fields, and no more. No doubt they consider her a very fortunate person to have been favoured with a personal communication from our Lady, but this favour does not change her in their eyes, although they all regard her as a very holy person. Our Lady is such a living reality to them that they do not regard a supernatural manifestation of herself as anything much out of the way. She might speak to any of them any day, and Carmela is very fortunate to have been the one chosen! "She is a good girl," is how Carmela is, in quaint English, described, "but then," it is added, "there is another good girl in such and such a place, and another somewhere else."

Numberless graces and favours now began to be received by those who flocked to the sanctuary, and invoked Our Lady ta Pinu; and many cures, professedly miraculous, were obtained at the shrine. Of these latter, after careful examination, a register has been kept by order of the Bishop, though the ecclesiastical authorities have not yet pronounced on them. In this register may be found many a beautiful story of faith and answer to prayer.

The first person to be cured by the invocation of the Madonna ta Pinu was Vincenza Portelli, Francesco's mother.

She was a very old woman, and in November, 1886, was suffering from acute heart-disease, while dropsy, in an aggravated form, caused her much suffering. The doctors pronounced her case hopeless. The secret of our Lady's communications was not, as yet, generally known, but Francesco must, by that time, have let it transpire in his own family, for it was to the Madonna ta Pinu that his three brothers, Salvatore, Nicola, and Leonardo, turned for aid in their need. It is strange, and somewhat characteristic, that in this story of his own mother's cure Francesco's name does not appear. The three brothers went to the sanctuary and recited the Rosary together. They would willingly have offered the wealth of the world to our Lady, but all that they were able of their poverty to promise, if their petition were granted, was to light a lamp before the holy picture whenever they could afford it. The humble offering was accepted, and the old woman was restored to health.

The next favour recorded is so characteristic of the simple and filial love borne towards our Blessed Lady by the people of Gozo, that it must find a place in these pages. Maria Cutajar was in great grief because she could not nurse any of her children. They were put out to nurse, and while none of them had thriven, the last of the three had died from almost inevitable neglect. In April, 1887, another little one was given to Maria, and with an aching heart she gave it to her mother to take to be nursed by her sister at Casal Xeuchia. It was just then that the devotion to Our Lady ta Pinu was spreading like wildfire over the island; and as Maria lay awake, in tears, the night after she had sent her baby from her, a sudden ray of hope shot through her heart, and turning to Our Lady ta Pinu she invoked her aid with the most fervent faith, promising, if her prayer were granted, to offer her gold ear-rings at the shrine, and to visit it herself, fasting on bread and water. She felt an instantaneous change come over her, and so certain was she that she would be able to nurse her child, that she wanted her mother to go off to Xeuchia to fetch it at once, in the middle of the night. The old woman protested against this, but humoured her daughter by starting off the first thing in the morning, to bring back the little one. When its happy mother clasped it to her breast, she found that our Lady had indeed heard her prayer.

From thenceforth many more had recourse to the Madonna ta Pinu for cure of their bodily ailments. There is some-

thing in human nature which craves for outward signs, and thus it occurred to the friends of those who were too ill to visit the shrine in person, to take home to them, and anoint them with, some of the oil from the lamp which was now always kept burning before the picture; and from that time this oil has been the chief vehicle of our Lady's healing power. Thus, in April, 1887, Maria Cefai, a young girl, was cured of lock-jaw by its application to her teeth. In the same month, Rosa Borg. an old woman past seventy, was cured by its touch of a dislocated knee. Carmela Sultana, also an old woman, whose left hand had been for three years paralyzed and withered, was cured in the same way. Saverio Busuttil, whose legs were so powerless that he could not take a step without assistance, was instantaneously cured by the application of the oil in the chapel itself. Angela Borg, who was too blind to attend to her children and household duties, was restored to full sight by its touch. Such are a few instances among the many that are recorded.

Margherita Bartolo, a girl of twenty-seven years of age, was apparently dying of an internal complaint, from which she had suffered for eleven years. The doctors gave up all hope of curing her, but suggested as a last resort that she should go to Valetta, there to undergo an operation rarely other than fatal in Malta. Death stared her in the face on all sides, and in her extremity she turned to Our Lady ta Pinu. She made the five mile journey from Nadur, her home, to the sanctuary, in a carriage, the movement of which caused her excruciating agony, and exhausted her in a manner to alarm those who were with her; and it was with difficulty that they carried her into the chapel. "Behold me before thee, Madonna mia," she said, as soon as she had been placed before the picture. "If thou wilt grant me this favour which I beg, I will come back here with twelve other girls, and I will have a Mass with a sermon said in thine honour, and we will all receive Holy Communion together." Her cure was instantaneous, and she walked back along the footpath to the road with perfect ease. She wished to walk back to Nadur, but her friends, having less faith than herself, insisted on her returning in the carriage. To the astonishment of her father and sisters, who had remained at home, she almost ran into the house to greet them, and set to work at once to busy herself with the household duties, a thing she had been unable to do for eleven years. Not only her disease, but various painful complications arising from it were completely

cured. She lost no time in collecting her twelve friends to fulfil her vow; and this time it was on foot that she made her journey to ta Pinu.

An old woman, Maria Caruana, a Maltese of Valetta, fell down and broke her hip. The doctors did all they could to set the limb, but were unable to do so properly on account of her advanced age. So, after giving herself over into their hands for a time, she left her bed and tried to get about as best she could. This she did by supporting herself on the furniture, though she suffered the most acute agony as she thus dragged herself about. One day, feeling more desponding than usual at her state of complete helplessness, she dragged herself to a table on which stood a little print of the Assunta ta Pinu, such as is now to be found in nearly every house both in Malta and Gozo. "Ah, Madonna mia," she sighed, "thou who hast done such wonders for others, do not refuse me when I ask you to make me able to walk." Even as she said these words, a sort of shudder ran through her whole frame, and she felt as if she were shaken violently and set on her feet. She knew she was cured, and bursting into tears, she cried out with a loud voice which summoned the other inmates of the house to her side: "The Madonna has worked a miracle on me! The Madonna has cured me!" The first use she made of her restored walking powers was to travel to Gozo to return thanks at the sanctuary.

Carmelo Azzopardi, an upholsterer of Valetta, with a wife and large family entirely dependent on him for their support, was threatened with loss of sight from the effects of erysipelas in his eyes. His sight got worse and worse, till the day came when, strain his eyes as he would, he found that he could not see sufficiently to do his work. His wife and children clung to him, and all were in a state of loud lamentation, when a friend of his, Paolo Formosa, happening to call, related to him the favours which Our Lady ta Pinu was dispensing around her. This was in April, 1887, when the burst of spontaneous devotion, as related above, was reaching its height. Carmelo, full of faith, and without loss of time, invoked Our Lady ta Pinu, and promised to receive Communion at her shrine, and offer a wax candle if he were cured. The inflammation and pain in his eyes ceased while he prayed, and, snatching up his work, he found that he could see perfectly. He and his family fell on their knees in thankfulness, while their cries of joy called

their neighbours to hear the wonderful news. At the moment that his eyes were being cured, another cure was being wrought in Carmelo's soul. He had, of late, become somewhat neglectful of his religion, but even as he offered his petition to our Lady, and before he knew that it was granted, an overwhelming desire to serve God more perfectly flooded his soul. Ever since that day he has led a life of fervent prayer and fasting, rising in the middle of the night to find that time for prayer which his labours forbid him to find by day—a life, be it said, by no means uncommon among the working classes of the Maltese. The first day that he could spare he went to Gozo to fulfil his vow, and there attested on oath to the above circumstances.

Such are a few of the miracles recorded in the register kept at ta Pinu, there to await ecclesiastical confirmation. But the number of ex votos, which cover the rough walls of the little chapel, tell a tale of favours received and petitions granted, far more graphically than can any written record. On one side are a number of quaint pictures, portraying various cures and deliverances from danger, obtained by means of the invocation of Our Lady ta Pinu; while all about, without any method in their arrangement, are hung up the usual little waxen effigies of arms, legs, eyes, babies, &c., intermingled with more solid ex votos in the shape of crutches, surgical appliances, and so forth. Candles, also, of all sizes, fill every spare space, and are hung in festoons from the roof. These have all been brought from a distance to be offered at the shrine, for ta Pinu is absolutely innocent of anything in the shape of stall or shop for the convenience of pilgrims.

There is one form of ex voto which seizes on the eye and the imagination more, perhaps, than any other. Every available corner is fitted with glass cases, densely packed with gold ear-rings and other gold ornaments, which will, in course of time, be melted down, or sold towards the expense of building the new church which is soon to be erected over the present sanctuary. These ornaments speak most plainly of favours received, and of the gratitude of those who have received them. Every Maltese and Gozo woman is possessed of certain gold ornaments, many or few according to her circumstances. They form an indispensable part of the dowry she brings her husband, and for a married woman to have no gold ornaments—not even

a pair of ear-rings—would be a slur on her reputation not to be endured. Thus every woman in these islands has something to give in return for favours received, and these closely-packed cases at *ta Pinu* show how freely she has given, not only what she has got, but what she prizes most.

The devotion to the Madonna ta Pinu soon spread beyond the shores of Gozo. Malta soon began to pour in that constant stream of pilgrims which has never ceased to flow; for the steamer which plies between the islands rarely makes its trip without counting among its passengers a group of worshippers, usually accompanied by a priest to say Mass for them at the sanctuary. Tunis, also, and Sicily send their pilgrims, but beyond these countries Our Lady ta Pinu is not as much known

as she probably will some day be.

In Gozo, of course, she reigns supreme in the hearts of the people. To her they turn on every occasion and in every emergency; and to her protection they attribute their immunity from many a peril which has overtaken their sister island. When, in August, 1887, the cholera invaded Malta, creating a panic within its sea-girt boundaries, such as might, under similar circumstances, be created on board a ship, the scourge did not touch Gozo. So confident were both the Gozitans and Maltese that this was due to the intercession of the Madonna ta Pinu, that numbers of the latter fled to Gozo for protection. There was no quarantine between the islands, and though many of the Maltese fled from infected districts, and even from infected houses, not one case of cholera did they introduce into the more favoured island. There is scarcely a house in either Malta or Gozo which does not possess its picture of the Assunta ta Pinu, or the cupboard of which does not contain a bottle of healing oil from the lamp which always burns before it.

Since 1890 the sanctuary has been enriched by our Holy Father, Leo XIII., with many Indulgences; and now every evening, after the daily toil of the people is over, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is given, while the Rosary, the Litany of our Lady, and certain prayers in honour of the Assumption

are recited.

Both Carmela and Francesco foretold that ere long a splendid church would rise over the present sanctuary. This prophecy, whether the product of their own desire, or the result of a communication from our Lady, will soon be fulfilled, the

commencement of the new church having only been delayed by a lawsuit between the Bishop and the owner of the land on which the chapel stands. It is intended to enclose the present little sanctuary inside a large church. When this is accomplished, no doubt the secret of our Lady's manifestations at ta Pinu will be noised abroad, and her shrine will be visited by many who now scarcely know of its existence. We must all wish our Lady, thus manifested, to be more widely known and honoured, but perhaps a passing regret is permissible at the departure of the simple hiddenness of the sanctuary; for with the flow of devotion there must come the flow of profanation, and with the crowd of worshippers will be mingled the crowd of those who hope to make a good thing out of the worshippers. The world has not yet touched ta Pinu; as it was when our Lady chose it, so is it now in its hidden simplicity. Thus, while we rejoice at the coming publicity which will spread abroad the fame of her sanctuary, we may tremble lest the touch of the world's hand should tarnish that which is so lovely in its humility, and which is still radiant with the touch of our Lady's choice.

The Divine Office in the Greek Church.

PART I.

LITURGICAL researches have ever exercised a good deal of fascination on the writer of these pages. From my boyhood, even under circumstances widely different from those of my present life, where the rendering of the Liturgy of the Church is one of my most important duties, I have eagerly read works on the subject of my predilection, and I may say that more than once large libraries were at my disposal which furnished me with materials both extensive and accurate. One point, however, has most sorely tried my patience. The Greek Masses are easily to be found in the original, and in commentaries, but the Divine Office of the Greek Church has proved an almost impregnable stronghold. True, it is frequently spoken of in works on liturgy, but it has been my misfortune never to fall in with an author treating the subject ex professo, and with anything more than mere superficial knowledge. There are numerous collections containing parts of the Akolouthia, or Divine Office, but these no more convey an idea of the mechanism, so to say, of the Office, than a collection of hymns would give an idea of the Roman Office. I carefully took notice of every little scrap of information, but as I see now, in four cases out of five, the intelligence thus collected has proved unreliable. I found, however, the complete rendering of the Office for one of the greatest feasts of the Greek Church, the joint feast of SS. John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Nazianzen (Jan. 30), in the Preface to Migne's edition of the works of St. Basil. But even there a great want of accuracy exists, as well as a number of misconceptions on the most essential points. There remained nothing but to study the office-books themselves. When I first took them into my hand I almost regretted having ever ventured upon the subject. I was simply bewildered. There were references which led nowhere, prayers and anthems were directed to be recited which were contained in none of the books; frequent

allusions to the "customs," but no general rubrics describing such customs. It may have been a rash judgment, but it was my consolation, that since the Greek clergy, whose reputation for learning is rather slender, can manage to get through their Office, it must, I thought, be possible even for me to get an insight into the construction of the Liturgy. And so I set out construing my Offices, and I hope the result of my labour will be acceptable at least to some of my readers. But I wish to caution them that I am not prepared to enter into the history of the Akolouthia, a subject, I believe, still open to research, but that I merely take it as it is to-day and as it is being recited or sung in the monasteries and greater churches throughout the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople.

I .- THE LITURGICAL BOOKS.

Both the Latin and the Greek Churches have a number of liturgical books. As to the Latin Church we have the Pontifical and the Ceremonial for Bishops, both concerning episcopal functions only, the Missal with all the prayers and ceremonies of Mass throughout the year, the Ritual containing prayers, ceremonies, and directions for the administration of the Sacraments of Baptism, Penance, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony, together with other priestly functions. And finally there is the Breviary exhibiting the Divine Office for every day in the year. As the Breviary would form rather a bulky volume, the custom prevails of dividing it into four parts according to the four seasons; the Martyrology gives a summary of the saints whose feast is kept each day in various places, and the octave-book gives additional lessons for the feasts and octave-days of saints who are more solemnly celebrated in sundry places.

This is one way of dividing this vast ensemble, the Liturgy. The Greek books are divided according to a different system. First of all we have the Euchologium (pronounced Efcoloion), or prayer-book for the use of bishops, priests, and deacons. It contains those parts of the Divine Office (at Vespers and Matins) which are said by the priest; next come the three Masses, that of St. John Chrysostom, which is commonly used, then that of St. Basil for the Sundays and Saturdays in Lent, and some other occasions, and the Mass of the Presanctified on the remaining days in Lent. Furthermore, the Euchologium contains the rite of administering the other six sacraments, the various ways of blessing holy water, the ceremonies of the

Washing of the Feet, and of the Blessing of the Palms, of the Dedication of the Church, and the consecration of chalices and altar-stones, prayers for various occasions, the clothing and profession of religious, the prayers for the dying and the dead, according to the rank and position held by them during life, Epistles and Gospels for the principal feasts. It will be seen from this short summary that the Euchologium is a most comprehensive book, containing things which may be found scattered in the several Latin books enumerated above.

Next comes the *Horologium*, or hour-book, which contains such parts of the Divine Office as are said by the whole choir. The *Psalter* contains the Psalms divided into twenty sections, each of which is subdivided into three *Gloria Patri*. Thus, the first section embraces Psalms I—8, and the *Gloria Patri* is only said after the third, sixth, and eighth psalms. After the last psalm we have the nine (or rather ten) canticles

which occupy a prominent part in the Office.

The third book is the *Parakletike*. It has no parallel in the Latin liturgical books. The Greeks have, just as we, eight ecclesiastical tones, four authentic ones, and four plagial, the third of which is called the deep tone. Now the Parakletike is divided into eight parts, corresponding to the eight tones, and each part is neither more nor less than the whole Vespers, Matins, and Lauds for each day of a whole week. On the first Sunday after Pentecost (feast of All Saints), the Greeks begin with the first tone, which they continue till the following Saturday; then comes the second tone in the same way, and so on, until, after having gone in eight weeks through the whole Parakletike, they begin it anew on the ninth Sunday; at the beginning of Lent the Parakletike is dropped, and the

Fourth book, the *Triodion*, takes its place. This is the Proper of Lent, and as during that holy season feasts are scarce, and nearly the whole Office is what we should call *de ea, i.e.*, concerning only the great events of the Passion and Death of our Lord, it is but natural that the Triodion is far more explicit

than the Parakletike.

The continuation of the Triodion constitutes the *Pentecostarion*, which is the Proper of the time from Easter Sunday to the Saturday after Pentecost.

For the feasts of saints the Greek Church has twelve books (according to the months), which are called *Menæa*, or monthly books. I know the Menæa only from a short examination, but

in its stead I use the Anthologium, which embraces in one volume the Proper of the saints (beginning on the 1st of September, the old Imperial New Year's Day), and as appendix the "anonymous" Offices, that is, according to our terminology, the common of saints. I believe that some saints, who in the Anthologium have only the common Office, are endowed with a proper Office in the Menæa. But at all events, the greater feasts are given even there at full length.

Finally, I have to mention the Typicon, which takes the place of our General Rubrics as well as of our Ordo, the directions published every year for the recitation of the Divine Office. The Typicon cannot properly be called a liturgical book, but it is, I should almost say, a necessary evil. Neale remarks that while a few general rubrics and two tables with figures in our breviaries settle the whole difficulty of the concurrence and occurrence of feasts, there are often ten and more pages of the Typicon required to provide for all possible positions of one single feast. The oldest and most renowned Typicon is the one of St. Sabba in Palestine. If I am right it is ascribed to St. John Damascene, but his authorship seems not beyond doubt. Among those now in use, I believe the edition I have before me at this moment (Venise, 1884) is inferior to the edition of Constantinople, which is much more explicit, and perhaps would throw light upon some obscure points, especially with regard to the distribution of the Psalter.

These are the principal books, and it will be sufficient only to mention that the *Evangelistarium* contains the Gospels arranged for the feasts throughout the year, the *Anagnosticon* Lessons from the Fathers, especially St. John Chrysostom and St. Theodore Studite. A glance at the above-mentioned books will show that there is one for the use of the officiating bishop, priest or deacon, one for the use of the whole choir, and the rest for the use of the cantor or reader. And considering that there is no obligation of private recitation in the Greek Church, but that those who for one reason or another do not take part in the solemn performance of the Divine Office, are not bound to, and, as a matter of fact do not, supply in private,

¹ In the Greek Church in London, e.g., the Divine Office is only performed on Sundays and greater feasts, and during the rest of the year the clergy, as I am informed by one who must know, "Say some prayers, so as to have the testimony of their conscience that they are praying to Almighty God." In small and poor mission churches, where there is no choir, there is no Divine Office either for the priest or for the congregation.

this arrangement of the books is certainly convenient. It continually happens that while the choir are engaged in the singing of psalms, the officiating priest is reciting prayers. The former will be found in the Psalter or in the Horologium, the latter in the Euchologium.

2.—THE CALENDAR.

The Calendar is most intimately connected with the Liturgy, and apart from the long and tedious quarrels about Easter-cycles, which occupy so prominent a place in Church history, ancient calendars must ever be reckoned among the most valuable documents of the early Church. It need scarcely be said that the Greek Church still clings to the Julian Calendar, which causes a difference in the dates of twelve days (from 1900-2099 the difference will be thirteen days), whereas the week-days remain the same. Easter, however, falling sometimes before and sometimes after our date.

The Greek Church has movable and immovable feasts. Among the former we ought not only to reckon those feasts which directly depend on Easter, as Ascension and Pentecost, but also all the Sundays and some week-days of Lent and Easter-tide; because the subject-matter of the Liturgy on those days constitutes them real feasts, just as the feast of the Seven Dolours in Lent belongs both to the Proper of the saints and to the Proper of the season.

Beginning, then, with the Greeks on the 1st of September, we have the following movable feasts: On the 11th of October, if a Sunday, or the next following Sunday: Feast of the 350 Fathers of the Seventh Council (Nicæa II.) against the Iconoclasts. On the 11th of December, or, if a week-day, on the following Sunday: Feast of the Forefathers of our Lord before the Law and under the Law.

On the Sunday before Christmas: Feast of all those who have pleased God from the beginning of the world, from Adam to St. Joseph, according to the genealogy of St. Luke, and of all the prophets and prophetesses, especially of Daniel and the Three Children.

On the Sunday after Christmas: Feast of St. Joseph, the foster-father, of King David, and of James "the brother of God."

On the 13th of July, if a Sunday, or the next following Sunday: Feast of the 630 Fathers who constituted the Fourth

General Council (Chalcedon, 451). The Horologion here remarks that this feast concerns all the six first Councils, namely, the 318 Fathers of Nicæa, the 150 of Constantinople I., the 200 of Ephesus, the 630 of Chalcedon, the 165 of Constantinople II., and the 170 of Constantinople III., but that the Synaxarion only mentions the Fathers of Chalcedon, and the Office itself concerns only this and the Third Council of Constantinople. This is a fair example of a certain vagueness in the Greek Liturgy, owing to the want of such a living and ever-watchful authority as our Congregation of the Sacred Rites. I could easily quote some more instances of the same defect.

Now we must turn to the Sundays and feasts of Lent. The fourth Sunday before Lent, corresponding to our Septuagesima Sunday, is called the Publican and the Pharisee, owing to the whole Office turning on this parable of our Blessed Lord. The following Sunday is dedicated to the Prodigal Son. On the following Saturday a solemn commemoration is held of all the faithful departed. The next Sunday (Abstinence Sunday) is entirely taken up with the second coming of Christ as Judge of the living and the dead. Before the holy but austere season of Lent sets in, it is but becoming to remember all those saintly monks who have edified the monastery by their brilliant virtues. Consequently the Saturday following the last-mentioned Sunday is dedicated to their memory.

The first Sunday of Lent is called the Sunday of the cheese, because although meat is no more allowed, cheese and eggs and milk are still lawful food. The whole Office is about the fall of our first parents.

On the following day the solemn Lent begins. We shall see later on what proportions the canonical hours assume during this time. At present I only wish to point out the commemorations of this season. As I shall speak later on of the great canon, I need only mention here, that portions of it are sung at the Apodeipnion (Compline) during the first week of Lent. On the Saturday a miracle worked by St. Theodor Martyr, in the time of Julian the Apostate, is solemnly commemorated. The second Sunday bears the name, Sunday of Orthodoxy, on account of the final decree issued by the Empress Theodora in 812 against the Iconoclasts, which is read after Matins. On the following Sunday

is kept the feast of Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, the leader of the "hesychasts," or quietists, the friend of Cantacuzene, the adversary of the monk Barlaam. This feast was instituted only six years after his death + 1362. The fourth Sunday witnesses the magnificent ceremony of the adoration of the Cross. After Lauds the Holy Cross is placed on the altar, and all the clergy two by two genuflect before it three times. singing the versicle, "We adore Thy Cross, O Lord, and we praise Thy holy Resurrection," together with other anthems. On the following Sunday is the commemoration of St. John Climacus (whose feast occurs on the 30th of March, both in the Menaion and in the Roman Martyrology). On Thursday we have the great canon, a magnificent poem of some three hundred verses on the whole history of mankind, and all its misery and sinfulness. At each verse the whole community make three full prostrations. "Vespers are earlier than usual," says the rubric, "on account of the fatigue of Matins." Another most beautiful piece of poetry occurs on the following Saturday, viz., the "standing hymn" of the Most Holy Mother of God. It consists of twelve verses of twelve salutations each, and was composed by George of Pisa (in Elis) in thanksgiving for the delivery of Constantinople from the hands of the Persians in 620. It is called the "standing hymn" because it is sung The sixth Sunday is dedicated to St. Mary of Egypt (Menaion, April 1st; Martyrology, April 2nd), and the Saturday of the same week to the "holy and just Lazarus." Palm Sunday and the Holy Week, as well as Easter week, admit no feasts whatever.

But Low Sunday is dedicated to the "touching of Thomas," and the second Sunday to the "holy balm-bearers and Joseph the just man." The "balm-bearers," or holy women who went early on Easter morning to bring ointments to the tomb of our Saviour, are very favourite subjects in the Greek Liturgy. The Gospel of the next Sunday is that of the man suffering from palsy, who after waiting for eight-and-thirty years at the pond Bethsaida, was healed by our Lord. Consequently this Sunday is called after him. The following Wednesday is exactly the middle day between Easter and Pentecost. We know the important events which took place on this day in the year before the Passion of our Lord, and are by no means astonished

¹ St. John v.—vii. The Greeks here connect Pentecost with the feast of the Tabernacles.

at finding it observed with peculiar solemnity among the Greeks, though we cannot help being surprised at its having a full octave. The Sunday within this octave bears the name of the woman of Samaria, and the Sunday before the Ascension recalls the history of the blind man who was sent to wash himself in the well Siloe. The Ascension, of course, is a solemn feast with an octave of nine days (in the Roman Breviary of ten). The Sunday within the octave is the feast of the 318 Fathers of the First General Council at Nicæa against Arius. On the Saturday before Pentecost a solemn Office of the Dead is sung. In the afternoon of Whit Sunday a singular ceremony takes place. During the whole Easter-time no genuflections are made; but now that Easter-time is passed, there is a special service of the bending of the knee. The first Sunday after Pentecost is the Greek feast of All Saints.

I may as well remark here that the Greek Church does not celebrate Corpus Christi (the United Greeks, of course, have adopted this feast). But there is a truly beautiful service in the Euchologion for those who are preparing for Holy Communion.

Before speaking of the immovable feasts I ought just to mention that the Parakletike dedicates every day of the week to some saint, just as we dedicate Monday to the Angels, Tuesday to the Apostles, Wednesday to St. Joseph, &c. With this difference, however, that we do so only when there is no other feast, whereas the Greeks, whose Divine Office admits of no end of combinations, do so all the year round. I shall explain later on what a "canon" is, and will only state here, that it is the most important part of the Office, that which gives its peculiar feature to each feast. We have, then, on Sunday besides the canon in honour of the Blessed Trinity those of the Resurrection, of the Cross and the Resurrection, and of our Lady; on Monday, those of compunction and of the Angels; on Tuesday, of compunction and of St. John the Baptist; on Wednesday, of the Cross and of our Lady; on Thursday, of the Apostles and of St. Nicholas; on Friday, of the Cross and of our Lady; and on Saturday, of all the Saints and of the dead.

The immovable feasts are as numerous as they could possibly be, for there is not one day of the whole year without at least one feast, and often there are six or more on the same day. Take for instance the 1st of September, on which the

following commemorations are held, each of which has its share in the Office:

New Year's Day (anthems, lessons, a "canon," &c.)

St. Symeon Stylites. (Rom. Mart. January 5th.)

Commemoration of the miraculous picture of our Lady, which was thrown into a well in the monastery of Miasena (?) for fear of the Iconoclasts.

St. Aeithala, martyr.

Forty holy women, martyrs, and St. Ammon, deacon, at Adrianople in Macedonia. (Rom. Mart. Sept. 1st.)

SS. Callistes, Evodus, and Hermogenes, brothers, martyrs. (Rom. Mart. Sept. 2nd.)

Josue, son of Nave, Patriarch. (Rom. Mart. Sept. 1st.)

Commemoration of the great fire in Constantinople in the year 450.

To prevent misconception I have to remind the reader that the Greek Church has no such thing as a Martyrology enumerating all the saints whose feasts occur on one and the same day. But every saint appearing in the calendar, is celebrated in the Divine Office. Sometimes, principally in cases where we should make a simple commemoration at Vespers and Lauds, the Greeks postpone the commemoration until the Apodeipnion or Compline, when they recite everything that is proper to the saint in question. There is no such thing as the translation of a feast, but each one is kept on the day it occurs. The only exception to this rule is when the feast of the Annunciation falls on Good Friday or Holy Saturday; it is then kept on Easter Sunday itself. We shall see later on that there are no regular lessons in the Greek Office corresponding to those in the Roman. There are, indeed, lessons, but these occupy quite a different position from ours and are more like the twelve Prophecies which in our churches are read on Holy Saturday. Instead of the historical lessons of the Second Nocturn, the Greeks have in the middle of the "canon" at Matins, an account of the feast, or of the mystery of the Sunday; these accounts are sometimes exceedingly lengthy, sometimes very short. Another account is to be found in the Horologium. It would be difficult to say what authority these Lessons have, but the correcting hand and the watchful eye of the Congregation of Sacred Rites are certainly indescribable benefits which the Greek Church has wantonly forfeited.

Turning to the fixed or immovable feasts throughout the

year, a comparison with our own Breviary and the Roman Martyrology will show that the majority of feasts are common to the two Churches. Of course we cannot forget that when the Roman Martyrology was being revised by Baronius and Bellarmin, the Greek Calendar was consulted and yielded many names of saints, all, or nearly all, of the Old Law, and a great number of martyrs and Fathers of the Eastern Church. Sometimes we find saints grouped together in one Church, and scattered over a whole year in the other; at other times we notice a slight divergency in the names as, e.g., in the case of St. Eusthatius (Sept. 20th), who appears, together with his three companions, under the name Eustachius in the Martyrology of the same day. The following "Popes of Rome" appear in the calendar:

November 24th, St. Clement.

(St. Eleutherius, Dec. 15th, is not the Pope of that name, but the martyr mentioned in the Martyrology, April 18th.)

January 2nd, St. Silvester. (Dec. 31st.)

February 18th, St. Leo the Great. (April 11th.)

March 13th, St. Martin. (Nov. 12th.)

Incidentally St. Sixtus is mentioned in connection with St. Lawrence.¹

SS. Peter and Paul, the Protokoryphæus and the Vessel of Election, occupy the same place as with us; but the 30th of June is sacred to the Twelve Apostles together, and the 16th of January to St. Peter's chains. St. Ambrose's feast is kept on the 7th of December as in the Latin Church, but St. Augustine is entirely left out. There are but few modern saints (or who are supposed to be such). Take e.g. the following:

October 20th, Gerasimus, founder of a monastery at Homala in Cephalonia + 1579.

December 17th, Dionysius, Archbishop of Aegina + 1624.

January 19th, Marcus Eugenicus, Archbishop of Ephesus, the most violent member of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, and the only one who did not subscribe to the decree of union (+1447). His hatred of Rome secured him a place of honour in the Greek Church. There are also some saints whose orthodoxy was not sufficiently established to satisfy the compilers of the Martyrology, as for instance, Cassian of Lerins.

¹ In the lessons for the Office of St. Gregory the Great, it is stated that his feast, March 12th, is also kept by the Greek Church. Since these lessons were written, the feast seems to have been abolished by the see of Constantinople.

Feasts of the translation of the relics of saints are comparatively numerous in the Greek Calendar. The most remarkable instance is the following. Besides the four feasts of St. John the Baptist, his conception September 23rd (a feast, by the way, which is rightly repudiated by the Latin Church), his birth (June 24th), his beheading (August 29th), and the commemoration of his office as Baptiser of our Lord, on January 7th, the day after the feast of the Baptism of our Lord, there are no less than three findings of his head (the first and second on the 24th of February, the third on May 25th). Instead of the feast of St. John the Evangelist on the 27th of December the Greeks keep his feast on the 8th of May (compare our feast of the 6th of May), and on the 26th of September they celebrate his "passing away."

A parallel to our feasts of the dedication of the principal churches in Rome may be found in the feasts of the dedication of the Basilica of the Resurrection of our Lord in Jerusalem (September 13th), and of the Church of St. George at Lydda (November 3rd); the 11th of May calls to mind the foundation of Constantinople and its consecration to our Blessed Lady. Alas, that the principal church of this proud city should be plunged into the abomination of desolation; and yet the Greek Liturgy of which we are speaking, still bears the name of the "Great church."

There is another class of feasts of which something must be said. I have already mentioned the commemoration of a miraculous picture of our Lady (September 1st). Similar feasts occur from time to time.

For instance, a miracle of St. Michael at Colosse. (September 6th, compare our feast on May 8th.)

October 26th, the commemoration of an earthquake which took place in 741. On the 7th of May is the feast of the cross which appeared in the air in Jerusalem during the life-time of St. Cyril, who sent an account of it to the Emperor Constantius. The 2nd of July is the anniversary of the translation of the mantle of our Lady to the beautiful church in the Blachernæ in Constantinople (458). On the 1st of August the True Cross of our Lord (of which one half was, or perhaps is, kept at Constantinople) is taken from its shrine, and every day until the Assumption is carried in procession through the town, to ward off famine, drought, and disease. At the end of the procession the Cross is presented to the faithful for adoration.

This ceremony is ushered in by a solemn feast kept on the 1st of August. The 16th of the same month is dedicated to the translation of a miraculous picture of our Lord, if I am not mistaken, the one said to be sent by our Lord Himself to King Abgar; and the last day of this month, which is also the last day of the Greek ecclesiastical year, witnesses the commemoration of the translation of the girdle of our Lady from Jerusalem to the church on the iron-market in Constantinople, by Arcadius, son of Theodosius the Great, and the miracle worked three hundred and ten years later by the same girdle on the Empress Zoe, the wife of the Emperor Leo.

Perhaps the reader will be astonished not to find in this enumeration the feast of the picture of our Lord, which was crucified by the Jews in Beyrout (in 365), and shed so much blood that the Oriental and Occidental Churches could be provided with the same. (Martyrology, November 9th.)¹

It now remains for me to say some few words on three of the principal feasts of the Christian year. The first is the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. I feel sure that I shall only anticipate my readers' wishes in describing the ceremony by which the Cross is venerated.

Matins over, the priest (who has remained in the sanctuary) places the cross (which lies on a sort of large paten) on his head, and preceded by acolytes with candles, and fans, and incense, he enters the nave, where he puts the sacred burden on a small, four-legged table; he then incenses the cross, chanting the "Stand straight for the Wisdom" (as at the beginning of the Gospel); after that he makes three genuflections, and taking the cross with walnut branches, stands in front of the table, looking towards the east, and says aloud: "Have mercy on us, O God, according to Thy great mercy: we beseech Thee, graciously hear us and have mercy."

The choir now sings the *Kyrie eleison* one hundred times, while the priest gives three times the blessing with the cross. He then makes a profound inclination (almost touching the ground with his forehead) and waits until the choir has finished. Whereupon he turns to the left, and looking towards the north, he says: "Let us also pray for the pious and orthodox Christians." And while we sing again a hundred *Kyrie eleisons*, the priest performs the second elevation of the cross, as above described.

¹ See Sigebertus, *Chronicle* ad h. an.; and the four different accounts among the works of St. Athanasius, Migne, gr. 28, 795, seq.

Then he stands at the eastern side of the table, and looking westward, he says: "Let us also pray for our Archbishop, N.N., and our whole brotherhood in Christ." We say now the third hundred Kyrie eleisons, after which the priest standing on the north side of the table and looking towards the south, says: "Let us also pray for every Christian soul of the orthodox faith, for their health, salvation, and forgiveness of their sins." And the fourth elevation of the cross takes place. He then places himself in front of the table, and looking to the east, says: "Let us also pray for all those who are labouring or have laboured in this holy monastery (or church), for their health, salvation, and the forgiveness of their sins." And we begin for the fifth time the hundred Kyrie eleisons. The which being finished, he elevates the cross, singing the "He who was exalted upon the Cross," &c., and blessing the people in the form of a cross. He then puts the cross on the four-legged table, and sings once: "We adore Thy Cross, O Lord," and each of the two choirs sings the same. Then he genuflects before the holy cross, and after him all the others. Where there is an Archbishop present, the elevation of the cross ought to be performed by him. While the adoration is taking place, the following (four) anthems are sung: (2nd tone) "Come, ye faithful, let us adore the lifegiving wood, on which Christ the King of glory, stretching out His hands of His own accord, hath elevated us to the ancient blessedness, us, whom the enemy had formerly stripped by luxury, and made abominable before God. Come, ye faithful, let us adore the wood through which we became worthy to crush the head of our invisible enemies. Come, all ye tribes of peoples, let us praise the Cross of the Lord with hymns. Hail, Cross, the perfect freedom of the fallen Adam. In thee our most faithful kings have gloried, since through thy power they brought into subjection the tribes of the Ishmaelites. We Christians greet thee with fear, we glorify the God who hung on thee, saying: Lord, who wast crucified on it, have mercy on us through Thy goodness and love towards man."

I omit the other three anthems for want of space. All having finished their adoration, the priest says: "Wisdom" (or probably as before: "Stand straight for Wisdom"), and the ceremony is terminated.

The other two feasts, about which I wish to say a word, are Christmas and Epiphany. These two feasts have had their history. In the East, the Birth of our Lord, His manifestations

to the Magi, and His Baptism were celebrated on the 6th of January. The first time this date appears in history is as far back as the beginning of the second century of our era (if I am rightly informed).

The greatest solemnity of the Basilidians, one of the earliest sects, took place on the 6th of January, and was in honour of the Baptism of Christ. Now Basilides, the founder of the sect, lived about the year 125. It stands to reason that he did not arbitrarily fix on this day, but that he already found it consecrated to the feast in question. Up to the second half of the fourth century the Eastern Church knew no other date for the triple manifestation of Christ in His Birth, in the calling of the Gentiles, and in His Baptism. The Western Church, however, according to an old tradition, as St. Augustine says, observed instead of the 6th of January, the 25th of December. About the year 376 an exchange took place between the two Churches; while the Latin Church accepted the 6th of January as a feast-day, the Greek Church transferred "Christmas" to the 25th of December. In a sermon delivered in 386, at Antiochia, St. John Chrysostom, who was then only just ordained priest, said: "It is not ten years since this day was made known to us, and yet it has been magnificently celebrated through your pious endeavours, as though it had been for many years traditional with us. Nor would he be at fault who should call it a new day as well as an old one; a new day, because its knowledge has penetrated to us only recently; an ancient one, because in a short time it has become equal to others that were of earlier date, and has grown to the same measure of age. For even as seed, as soon as it is buried in the earth, shoots forth to great height, and is soon covered with fruit; so this day, which has been known from the very beginning to the inhabitants of the West, and has only been transmitted to us a few years ago, has nevertheless rapidly acquired a great importance, while the fruits of it are visible to all, in the fact that the very church has grown too small for the multitude assembled therein." He then goes on to speak of the dissension which existed, some people being unwilling to accept the change, others defending it. On his part he wishes to bring the discussion to an end by means of three proofs in favour of the 25th of December. The first is the same as is so often alleged for the truth of the Gospel itself, namely, the quickness with which the new feast had taken possession, and the ever-increasing

popularity it had acquired in so short a time. The second proof appeals to historical records. The Birth of our Lord took place during the census in Bethlehem. Now, he says, all the census papers are still preserved in Rome, where they could easily be examined; and surely if the census had taken place in Bethlehem at another date than to-day's, the error would have been discovered years ago. The third proof is rather more complicated, nor would it be altogether conclusive were it taken by itself. At least in my opinion it seems to put a somewhat strained construction upon the words of the Gospel, considering that the whole difference of time is only thirteen days. He says that the Annunciation of our Lady took place in the sixth month after the conception of St. John the Baptist. From Leviticus xvi. 29, he goes on to prove that Zacharias fulfilled his office as High Priest on the tenth day of the seventh month of the Hebrew year. This would coincide with a day in our month of September. Six months further lead us to the feast of the Annunciation in March, and nine more months to Christmas in December. This calculation is unimpeachable, but only on the supposition that the words, "the sixth month," in Luke i. 26 and 36, are taken as meaning exactly six months, and not a day more or less; an interpretation which is perhaps unnecessarily strict. On the whole, I think that modern critics would be satisfied with the constant tradition of Rome, and would not try to lay more stress upon the expression of the Evangelist than is involved in the grammatical construction of the two verses in question.

On the following feast of Epiphany (387) St. John Chrysostom again ascended the pulpit, and after an exordium, in which he admonished the congregation to frequent the church more assiduously, he spoke on the Adoration of the Magi and the Baptism of Christ. According to the present custom of the Greek Church, the former mystery is fully commemorated on Christmas Day, and Epiphany is entirely consecrated to the Baptism of Christ. After the Mass the solemn blessing of the baptismal font takes place, and from the rite of this ceremony it appears that to this day the faithful take some of the water to their houses and keep it as we keep holy water. St. John Chrysostom, alluding to this custom in his sermons, relates that it remained miraculously incorrupt, although it was kept sometimes a whole year, or even two or three years. Epiphany is one of the days of Baptism in the Greek Church.

Before bringing this lengthy chapter to an end I wish to mention that the Greeks celebrate, on the 29th of December, the feast of the innocent children slain by Herod. It is difficult to understand how the Greeks came to place the number of the Holy Innocents at fourteen thousand. So great a multitude of children of two years and under, would imply a population of nearly a million of people; whereas Bethlehem was quite a small place. But this is not the only instance in which the Greeks show (though not so palpably) how they can stretch figures. For example, on the 23rd of March they celebrate the feast of "St. Nicon and one hundred and ninety-nine of his disciples," whereas the Martyrology gives only ninety-nine.

B. ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

The Temporary Star in Auriga.

THE year 1892 will be famous in the annals of astronomy for two remarkable discoveries: the one, that of the fifth satellite of Jupiter, made by a trained astronomer, Mr. S. W. Burnham, on the night of September 9th, by means of the giant thirty-six inch equatorial of the Lick Observatory; the other, the subject of the present paper, made in the earlier part of the year by the Rev. Dr. Thomas D. Anderson of Edinburgh with such simple appliances as a small hand-telescope and a staratlas. Whilst examining the constellation of Auriga in the last days of January, this gentleman observed a star of the fifth magnitude, or order of brightness, which at first he identified with the well-known star numbered 26 in maps and catalogues. Further scrutiny, however, and comparison with his star-atlas, revealed to him the probable existence of one of that rare class of celestial bodies, which attain but a temporary splendour, and then are seen no more. information was therefore diffidently communicated to the Royal Astronomer for Scotland, Dr. R. Copeland, on the morning of February 1st, by means of an anonymous postcard. The same night the orange-tinted stranger was sought for and easily found at Edinburgh, while at Greenwich the Astronomer Royal secured photographs of the star and of the surrounding neighbourhood. The next day the telegraph wire had announced to the leading astronomers of the world, that a new star was to be seen in the Milky Way situated about two degrees to the south of x Aurigæ, and preceding No. 26 of the same group of stars. The nearest bright star to the place of the Nova is & Tauri.

But an interesting fact was the result of subsequent examinations, suggested by Anderson's discovery, of star plates of this region of the heavens which had been taken in the preceding December by Professor Pickering at the Harvard College Observatory, and by Dr. Max Wolf at Heidelberg. For while

the star was absent from the photographs taken by the latter astronomer on December 8th, which showed stars of even the eleventh degree of brightness, it had two days later impressed its image on the plates of the American observer, as a star equalling in lustre those of the fifth magnitude. Hence it appears that in this interval of time it had risen through more than six degrees of brilliancy, thereby indicating a multiplication of its light and heat-giving powers in the proportion of one to two hundred and fifty. So distant too is it, that now that the earth has completed since its first discovery more than two-thirds of its annual course round the sun, the observations of Burnham and Barnard at the Lick Observatory have not succeeded in bringing to light the slightest parallactic displacement of the object on the celestial sphere. Hence it is impossible to tell when the actual conflagration in the heavens took place, which was first recorded on the earth on the night of December 10, 1891. It is no exaggeration to suppose that a star with a radiative power a hundred times greater than that of our sun, commenced to send its message to us at the rate of one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles a second at least two centuries ago.

The discovery of temporary stars has hitherto been of very rare occurrence, the average being one for each of the last nineteen centuries. The first instance of which we have any record is that of the star discovered by Hipparchus, probably about the year B.C. 134. In this case we know the bare fact, and the interesting statement of Pliny that it was this discovery which induced the Greek astronomer to draw up his starcatalogue, the very first that has come down to us. Then there was Tycho Brahe's famous star which blazed out in Cassiopeia in the year A.D. 1572, and was to be seen for a year and five months. Of this star it is recorded that its colour changed from white through yellow to red, and then to white again, which furnishes us with some clue to a probable fluctuation in and recuperation of its light. In A.D. 1604 another Venuslike star, observable for a year, was discovered by the famous Kepler, while the same century furnished yet another example in Anthelm's Nova of A.D. 1670, which was to be seen for two years, the brilliancy fluctuating in a remarkable manner. The present century has been marked, including Nova Aurigæ, by five such apparitions; namely, in 1848, when a star was discovered by Dr. Hind in Ophinchus; in 1866, when a star

in the Northern Crown blazed up suddenly from the ninth magnitude to the fourth magnitude, and after again increasing its lustre six-fold in about three hours, finally became one of the class known as variable stars; in 1876, in the constellation Cygnus, a star of an orange-red tint which attained a lustre equal to that of a third magnitude star, and which according to an observation made by Burnham at Lick Observatory in the latter part of 1891, is a small star of 13'5 magnitude, and "at times seemed to resemble an exceedingly minute nebula,"1 and finally in 1885, when a star just visible to the naked eye appeared in the very heart of the wonderful Andromeda nebula, with which, as observations seemed to show, it was physically and not merely optically connected. Of these recent stars, four have been subjected to spectroscopic analysis, and we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel some of the indications which they gave, but the Nova Aurigæ is the first star the light of which has been analyzed and permanently recorded for future study on the photographic plate. For the present we note with regard to these temporary or new stars the following common characteristics, suddenness of outburst, great rapidity in the attainment of their maximum of splendour, then decline, in some cases rapid, in others more leisurely, and finally in several cases a recrudescence of brilliancy.

It was not long after the news of the arrival of Nova Aurigæ had been bruited abroad, before its light was confronted by eye and by photometer, by photographic plate and by micrometer, and by that powerful engine of modern research the tele-spectrograph, or combination of telescope, spectroscope, and photographic plate. It would be impossible within the limits of a single article to enter into all the niceties of, or indeed to give anything like a complete account of all the observations made on this interesting star. We must therefore be content to summarize the chief results of these observations, and in doing so we propose to discuss the history of the star in two sections, the first dealing with such results as were secured between its first appearance and its decline during the months of March and April, 1892, and the second with the observations made upon the star during its recuperation of brilliancy in the months of August and September.

With regard to the magnitude of the star we must, at the outset, distinguish between its magnitude as determined by

¹ Monthly Notices R. A.S. vol. 52, No. 6, p. 457, April, 1892.

eye or by the photometer, and that resulting from its images as impressed upon a photographic plate. For should the star be rich in rays to which the photographic plate is sensitive, but which do not effect the eye, the resulting magnitudes will be greater by the photographic than by the eye method of The magnitudes of the star during its first appearance have been studied among others by Pickering, Christie, Pritchard, Knott, Roberts, Stone, Burnham, Whitney, Gore, Baxendell, Lohse, Newall, and Copeland, and the result of a comparison of such observations is that the photographic exceeds the visual magnitude of the star.1 The earliest observations were those secured on Pickering's plates at Harvard College Observatory between the dates December 10th and January 20th, 1891. From these it appears that "the magnitude of the star on December 10th was 5:4," and that "the brightness increased rapidly until December 18th, attaining its maximum about December 20th, when its magnitude was 44. It then began to decrease slowly with slight fluctuations until January 20th, when it was somewhat below the fifth magnitude."2 We have already noticed that it did not appear among the eleventh magnitude stars on Max Wolf's plate on December 8, 1891. Dr. Copeland too has "examined a large number of star maps and catalogues, ancient and modern, without finding any previous record of the new star." 3 Dr. Anderson is almost certain that he observed the star on January 24th, and twice in the following week, and that during the days preceding the despatch of his postcard, it was of about the fifth magnitude. But since February 1st a series of systematic observations of the magnitude of the star has been secured. According to the Astronomer Royal it attained its maximum of brilliancy on the night of February 3rd, being then 3.5 as estimated from its photographic image, while Pritchard, at Oxford University Observatory, gives 4.82 by the photometric method, and Stone, of the Radcliffe Observatory, 4:4 by eye estimation, all three observers agreeing however as to the date of the maximum.

¹ Monthly Notices R.A.S. vol. 52, No. 5, pp. 357, 366, 367, 371, No. 6, pp. 430, 432, 433, No. 7, pp. 508, 509; Astronomy and Astro-Physics, March, April, May, June, August, 1892; Journal B.A.A. March, April. Curves showing the fluctuations of the magnitude of the star are to be found in L'Astronomie for June, 1892, the Journal B.A.A. for April, 1892, drawn up by the Rev. T. E. Espin, and in Dr. Copeland's paper reprinted in Astronomy and Astro-Physics for August, 1892.

² The Observatory, No. 187, April, 1892, p. 197.

³ Astronomy and Astro-Physics, No. 107, August, 1892, p. 593.

This, then, was a second maximum. A steady loss of light then ensued until about March 16th, between which date and the 19th it again took a slight rise. Again a fall is recorded in the light-curve of the star, with a halting-point at magnitude six until March 8th, when it commenced to fall steadily and By March 18th it had diminished to the ninth rapidly. magnitude, on the 25th it was at the tenth, on the 28th it had fallen to the twelfth magnitude, and by the beginning of April it was a faint thirteenth magnitude star. It was clearly seen in the Lick telescope on April 24, "when it was of the sixteenth magnitude or fainter."1 We have therefore in this first appearance a sudden outburst, a rapid rise to brilliancy, a fall, another rise to maximum lustre, again a fall, a third rise though less brilliant than its predecessors, and finally a rapid and persistent fall to extreme faintness. Moreover, the star is rich in violet rays as shown by the excess of the photographic over the eye estimations of brilliancy.

The revelations of the spectroscope next claim our attention. On the very night of the announcement of its discovery, February 1st, Copeland, at Edinburgh, was able by means of a small spectroscope to detect the likeness of its spectrum to that of the Nova of 1866. "The C^2 line was intensely bright, a yellow line about D fairly visible, four bright lines or bands were conspicuous in the green, and lastly a bright line in the violet (probably $H\gamma$) was easily seen." Glowing hydrogen was at any rate present in vast quantities as a constituent of the new star, while the lines in the green seemed to indicate a generic likeness between the Nova and that which appeared in Cygnus in 1876. On the night of February 2nd, Dr. and Mrs. Huggins commenced their study of the spectrum of the star, its spectrum was also photographed on February 3rd by Professor Lockyer at South Kensington

¹ Astronomy and Astro-Physics, No. 108, October, 1892, p. 715.

³ The Observatory, No. 186, March, 1892, p. 136.

³ The chief lines in the solar spectrum are known by letters capital or small. Thus the C, F, G', h, H lines are characteristic of the gas hydrogen, D of sodium, &c. The positions of other lines in any spectrum are designated by a number which indicates the length from crest to crest of the waves in the luminiferous ether which correspond to any particular colour, the waves of red light being about twice as long as those of violet light. The unit of length adopted in spectroscopical measurements is the tenth-metre, one tenth-metre being equal to the one ten-millionth part of a m'llimetre. Thus for example the waves of light corresponding to two lines which are frequently mentioned in the text, viz., the lines 5000, and 4950, are respectively 5000 tenth-metres, and 4950 tenth-metres in length.

and by Father Sidgreaves at Stonyhurst, and before a few days had elapsed from the announcement of the discovery its light had been analyzed either by the visual or spectrographic methods by many observers. Thus among others we have observations from Pickering at Harvard, Young at Princeton, Vogel at Potsdam, Campbell and Crew at the Lick Observatory, Bélopolsky at Pulkova, Maunder at Greenwich, Becker at Dun Echt, Copeland at Edinburgh, Eugen and Gothard at Héreny, Konkoly at O-Gyalla, and Espin at the Wolsingham Observatory.1 An early paper on the spectrum was that presented by Professor Lockyer to the Royal Society, and dated February 4th, in which he announced the probable appearance in the spectrum of Nova of the three lines characteristic of the spectrum of the nebulæ, namely, the hydrogen line at F, the line near wave-length 500 in the green, which was coincident in his spectroscope with the radiation from burning magnesium wire, while a third line was probably coincident with the nebular line 495. The carbon fluting at 517 was also represented. The hydrogen C line was present and of great brilliancy, a feeble line in the yellow was near the place of the sodium line D, and a photograph of the spectrum showed thirteen additional lines, among them being the hydrogen lines at G', h, and H. Now, according to Professor Lockyer's researches into the constitution of meteorites, the spectrum of these bodies always shows first the hydrogen spectrum, then as the temperature is increased the spectrum of carbon, or one of its compounds, while at a still higher temperature the magnesium spectrum begins to appear. According to the "Meteoritic Hypothesis" of the same spectroscopist, the spectra of those nebulæ which consist of bright lines, can be matched by the spectrum of meteorites, for the line near 500 coincides with a low temperature magnesium fluting, and the hydrogen line F is certainly present. Temporary stars too according to this hypothesis give a spectrum which is identically that of the meteorites, and their origin is to be ascribed to encounters between the constituents of two meteor streams which, as Professor Lockyer suggestively expresses it, meet at a "level crossing." We have thus early in our summary of the spectroscopic observations called attention to Professor Lockyer's observations and theory

¹ Published in the Proceedings R.S., the Monthly Notices R.A.S., Astronomy and Astro-Physics, The Observatory, Nature, Astronomischen Nachrichten, &c.

as we shall have afterwards to compare them with the results of other observers, in our endeavour to find some solution for the riddle, and it is a great one, set us by the spectrum of the Nova of 1892. Luckily we have observations over every portion of the extent of its spectrum, which extended from the extreme red even below the C line according to observations of Professor Young, and of Dr. and Mrs. Huggins, to that limit in the ultra-violet where the light of celestial bodies ceases to overcome the absorptive effect of our atmosphere, as was shown by the photographs taken by the last-named observers. As is well known, the ordinary photographic plates are only sensitive either in the violet or in the blue, beyond F we have to depend for the most part on visual observations through the green, yellow, orange, and red portions of the spectrum. The plates used at Stonyhurst, however, were those which are rendered by the use of suitable dyes sensitive also to green light, and Father Sidgreaves' photographs extend from D in the yellow to H in the violet, thus admirably supplementing those of other observers.

The first fact then about the spectrum of Nova Aurigæ is that it was of great extent, and not confined to any particular colour or colours, unlike the spectrum of Nova Andromeda in 1885, which was, allowing for the difficulties of observation, mainly confined to the green. Moreover, throughout its whole extent the spectrum was full of lines, both bright lines and dark lines, and these again were contrasted with the background of a well-marked continuous spectrum. To give some idea of the number of lines which the star showed there were nearly sixty well-marked and unmistakeable bright and dark lines or bands in the Stonyhurst photographs, which under a powerful microscope were after weeks of study independently resolved by at least two observers into more than two hundred lines, the spectrum being a most complicated one. The maps drawn by Dr. and Mrs. Huggins in those parts which are supplementary to the Stonyhurst photographs, furnish about forty other lines.1 Dr. Becker, too, at Dun Echt, measured seventy-one bright lines in the visible portion of the spectrum, and a very extensive catalogue of lines has recently been published by Dr. Campbell. So that our second fact with regard to the spectrum of Nova Aurigæ is that it was rich in bright and dark lines.

¹ Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 51, p. 493.

Many of these lines, too, were of great breadth, notably those of hydrogen, the F and the G' lines extending over several tenth-metres. These lines seemed to be also sharper on the side towards the violet end of the spectrum, and more diffuse on that turned towards the red end. They presented the appearance characteristic of the lines of the gas, when it is under great pressure and of great density. It has been objected that this immense broadening of the lines was possibly a photographic effect due partly to the necessarily long exposures, and partly to the scintillation of the star.1 But a series of experiments undertaken for the express purpose of the solution of this question by Father Sidgreaves on y Cassiopeiæ, and other stars, has proved that the effect in Nova is not photographic, but has a true physical cause to be looked for in the constitution of the star. In 1879 and succeeding years Dr. Huggins took a series of photographs of the ultraviolet spectrum of Sirius, Vega, and other bright white stars, and his plates showed besides the well-known hydrogen series G', h, H, of the violet, nine other lines of similar appearance and arranged in rythmical order. The detection of these lines in the stars led to laboratory experiments, and they were identified by Lockyer, Vogel, and Cornu, as all forming part of a harmonic series and due to hydrogen. The quite recent advances in the study of the solar atmosphere made by Hale at Chicago and Deslandres at Paris, by means of photography, have added these same lines, and five others in addition further removed still to the violet, to the hydrogen lines of the sun-Now Dr. and Mrs. Huggins' photographs of the ultra-violet spectrum of Nova Aurigæ, show this same series of lines in the spectrum of the star. We cannot thence conclude that Nova Aurigæ was a star like Sirius or other stars of Secchi's Type I.; for in addition to these lines, which we now know to be proper to the sun also, the spectrum of Nova was, as we remarked before, full of lines from the extreme red to the extreme violet. Was the spectrum then like that of our sun in its other details, and could it therefore be relegated with the sun and other yellow stars as Aldebaran, Capella, Pollux, and Arcturus to Secchi's Class II.? But we have already seen that Professor Lockyer identified in the new star the nebular triplet in the green, the lines of hydrogen, and a carbon fluting. The point then as to what gases or metallic vapours

¹ The Observatory, No. 187, April, 1892, p. 165.

the lines were attributable needs careful consideration. And first, the weight of evidence is entirely against Professor Lockyer, with regard to the presence of the chief and characteristic nebular line and the carbon spectrum; though of course all observers are agreed that hydrogen formed a marked constituent of the blaze of the new star. The absolute position of the chief nebular line near 500 has been determined with great exactitude by Professor Keeler with the magnificent apparatus of the Lick Observatory. The number given by this observer is 5005.93.1 The position of the very bright line near 500 in the Nova which was ascribed to the nebular spectrum by Professor Lockyer, was likewise independently determined by other observers. Dr. Huggins placed it at 5014, Professor Young at 5015, Father Sidgreaves at 5014, Professor Vogel at 5016, Herrn Eugen and Gothard at 5019, Herr Konkoly at 5019'5, while the observations of Dr. Becker, Dr. Campbell,2 and M. Bélopolsky agree in locating the line in a position removed far to the red side of the chief nebular line. But, as we shall see hereafter, the light source was moving away from us, and just as the tone of the whistle of a locomotive is lowered in pitch as it rushes away from a listener at rest, so too analogously with light waves, if the source of light is receding from us the colour tone will be lowered, and its luminous spectral rays thrown down towards the red in the scale of colours. Might not this cause have been operative in shifting the bright green nebular line some eight or ten places from its normal position? But Dr. Huggins confronted the analyzed light of the star in his spectroscopes with the spectrum given by nitrogen and the vapour of lead, the relative positions of certain lines in these substances to the chief nebular line being known with very great accuracy. Even allowing for the shift due to the velocity of the light source in the line of sight, the result of these experiments was to negative the existence of the chief nebular line in the spectrum of Nova. Nor was the second nebular line to be found in its spectrum according to the witness of most observers, although as with line 500,3 so with line 495, there was a faint line suspiciously near in position, but not to be confounded with

¹ Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 49, p. 401.

³ The position given to the line by this observer in a recently published paper, Astronomy and Astro-Physics, No. 109, p. 805, Nov. 1892, is 5018.

³ One photograph of Dr. Campbell's taken on Feb. 14, gave a line at 5007. {loc. cit.)

it. Dr. Campbell saw such a line; Dr. Becker measured a line at 4947, Dr. Copeland at 4952.5, which, however, he states was not the nebular line; on one of the Stonyhurst plates, too, but on one only, there appeared a broad faint bright line at 4954. On the other plates the region in the immediate neighbourhood of 495 is occupied by continuous spectrum with dark lines superposed upon it. Dr. Huggins also remarks the absence from Nova "of a very strong ultra-violet line which is usually found in the spectrum of the nebula of Orion." Direct comparisons, too, of the spectrum with the hydro-carbon and carbon oxide flame and with magnesium led to negative results as to the presence of these substances in the star.

Before we proceed to discuss further what substances were probably represented in this remarkable spectrum, our attention is demanded by some other of its peculiarities. And first a great number of the brightest lines, and noticeably all the hydrogen lines, were accompanied on their blue sides by a dark counterpart, so that the appearance of the spectrum, considering these lines alone, was that of a series of bright and dark couples. This was indeed a curious fact, but more than this, upon the bright lines which had these dark companions, appeared thin dark absorption lines. Thus to take the F line of hydrogen on the Stonyhurst photographs as an example. Proceeding from blue to red, we have first a broad black absorption line of dark hydrogen, then a broad line of bright hydrogen which was divided unsymmetrically by a dark absorption line, the line of division leaving more of the brightness to the blue than to the red side. The line was finally terminated on the red side by a sort of nebulous wing. Turning now to the G' or first violet line of hydrogen, we have the same broad divisions as in F, but with this difference, that each component of the bright G' is subdivided by dark lines, the blue bright component by one, and the red bright component by two dark lines. Moreover, alterations took place, either by changes in the relative brightness of the two bright components of F, or by the incoming of sharp dark lines on the bright bands, or of sharp bright lines on the dark bands, after the star had attained its maximum. This fact is testified to by the observations made or by the photographs taken at Tulse Hill, Potsdam, Stonyhurst, the Lick Observatory, Pulkova, and Harvard College. If the lines of any substance are thus doubled, and

¹ Loc. cit. p. 488.

let us take the hydrogen line F as our example, it is clear that the normal position of the line in a body at rest must coincide with either the bright or dark component, or with neither. Wherever the normal position of the line F, for example, might be with reference to the remarkable F line given by the Nova, the dark and bright hydrogen must have been in relative motion to one another. This relative velocity of the bright and dark gas was exceedingly great, about five hundred and fifty miles a second according to the measurements of Dr. and Mrs. Huggins, Professor Vogel, and Father Sidgreaves. More remarkable still, there was no change in this velocity for more than a month.

It must be evident even to those who are least conversant with the niceties of spectroscopical researches, that before a map can be constructed from measures, made either with the telescope or from photographic plates, which shall accurately represent the true positions of the lines in any spectrum, we must needs settle with very great accuracy the true position of some fiducial or starting-point. Nor can any theory of the star, its constituents or its origin, be formulated unless the positions of the lines are absolutely correct. In the Nova the lines of hydrogen were certainly present. The spectrum of hydrogen can be very easily obtained in vacuum tubes by means of electrical excitation. The standard positions of the lines of hydrogen are also exactly known. One obvious method then of fixing a starting or fiducial point was to confront the spectrum of the star with the spectrum of hydrogen, and to determine where, for example, the F line of hydrogen as given by the tube was situated relatively to the enormously broad and complicated double F line of the star's spectrum. This was the method adopted by such experienced observers in this line of work as Dr. and Mrs. Huggins, and Professor Vogel. With regard to F, Dr. Huggins writes, "The line from the vacuum tube fell not upon the middle of the line (i.e., the bright broad F in the Nova), but near its more refrangible (i.e., blue) edge."1 Professor Vogel states, "These three lines (i.e., C, F, and G') did not exactly coincide with the lines of the comparison spectrum, but were displaced considerably towards the red, without, however, separating completely from the artificial lines, since they were very broad."2 At any rate, from

¹ Loc. cit. p. 486. The explanatory words in brackets in all quotations are ours.

² Nature, vol. 45, No. 1169, p. 498, March 24, 1892.

these statements it appears, and we may add the concurrent testimony of Eugen and Gothard, that the bright F of the tube did not fall upon the dark but upon the bright hydrogen, although Dr. Huggins would seem to place it slightly more to the red than Professor Vogel. Father Sidgreaves argued that the proper place for F on his photographs taken with a prism, would be that position in the complicated Nova line, which gave the proper wave-length intervals F to G', and G' to h, in other words which would give the best fit. He found after many and careful experiments that "the marginal separations of the bright and dark parts of the hydrogen broad lines at F, G', and h are the only similar positions in each that give the correct wave-length intervals F-G' and G'-h: in other words, the true positions of these lines are those which are common to both the bright and dark parts."1 Thus he differs from Huggins and Vogel, who make the true positions of F, G', h, as proper to the bright part, although indeed their positions are not very far removed from his. He also admits as telling strongly against him an observation of Professor Young made on the C and F hydrogen lines in a perfect instrument of great dispersion. According to this observer "the lines were diffuse, like C and F from hydrogen under pressure; but the shading was sensibly symmetrical each way from the middle of the line."2 That is, with Huggins and Vogel the true position of F is in the bright line of Nova and proper to it, but still further removed to the red than they would place it. Starting from the middle of bright F we might arrange the order in the observations thus, Young, Huggins, Vogel, all making the fiducial point proper to bright F, and Sidgreaves placing the fiducial point as common to bright and dark F, and at the separation of the bright and dark lines.

We may now ask if the nebular lines and the hydro-carbon bands are excluded from the spectrum, and in their exclusion Professor Vogel by direct comparisons concurs with Dr. Huggins, what spectrum most completely answers to the spectrum of Nova? We answer unhesitatingly the spectrum given by the chromosphere and prominences of our own sun. First we have the full hydrogen series, which we have already pointed out has been observed even in its ultra-violet radiations by Hale and Deslandres as belonging to the solar prominences.

¹ The Observatory, No. 193, p. 364, October, 1892.

³ Astronomy and Astro-Physics, April, 1892.

Then the two bright lines at 5014 and 4921 which together with b formed the bright triplet in the green which was so conspicuous to all observers, are matched exactly by solar chromospheric lines. The characteristic sun line D₃ was also present, the sodium couple D, and very probably one if not all the lines of the triplet b of magnesium. More than this, if we take the list of chromospheric lines of the sun as observed by Professor Young and collate them with the bright lines of Nova, there is a striking accord both in position and character between the two sets of lines.1 Nor does the likeness of the lines in Nova to those observed in the chromosphere and storms of glowing gases and vapours frequently observed in the sun end here. For, to mention no others, M. Deslandres at Paris has observed in the lines which are brightened in the solar atmosphere precisely the same doubling of bright by black lines as was seen and photographed in the spectrum of the Nova. And, further still, the incoming of these bright or dark lines upon the broad dark or bright bands is perfectly represented in the spectrum of solar storms and sun-spots. Again, with regard to the unsymmetrical division of some of the broad bright lines by dark absorption lines, the same effect has been produced by Professors Liveing and Dewar in the laboratory in their experiments on the spectra of the vapours of metals. So that all the indications of the remarkable spectrum of the new star seem to suggest rather a solar chromospheric than a nebular analogy. It would be premature, however, to conclude that the new star was a body constituted like our sun. Its feeble continuous spectrum, relatively to the intense luminous radiations of its atmosphere, would seem to preclude any such probability. More likely it might be specifically reduced to that class of variables, which includes stars such as \(\gamma \) Cassiopei\(\alpha \), \(\beta \) Lyr\(\alpha \), and η Argûs, which likewise exhibit the bright chromospheric solar lines. In fact, with β Lyræ it has a very strong family likeness, for this star too gives a spectrum characterized by the same strange doubling of the bright and dark lines. Nor must we neglect the fact that when the Nova of 1876 was dying out, it showed this same line near 500, which if not the nebular line, can be so easily matched by a group of bright chromospheric lines.

¹ Father Sidgreaves first called attention to this point of the probable numerous-coincidences of chromospheric and Nova lines at the May meeting of the R.A.S. See *The Observatory*, No. 189, p. 236. In his recent papers, loc. cit., Dr. Campbell gives a long list of such coincidences.

We may now proceed with the history of the second appearance of this interesting star. We left it at the end of April as a faint glimmering of light in the Lick equatorial and reckoned to be of the sixteenth magnitude. It was, therefore, with somewhat of surprise that astronomers learnt by means of a circular from the Rev. T. E. Espin, of the Wolsingham Observatory, that Mr. H. Corder had, on observing the place of the Nova on August 19th, ascertained that it had again increased in brightness, and was on that date of about the ninth magnitude. In other words, this remarkable object which at the end of April had possessed but the 1-60,000th part of its radiative energy of the beginning of February, had again increased its brilliancy of August eight hundred and eighty-five The Harvard College observers, who on April 26th gave to the star a magnitude 14.5, reckoned on the 24th by the Lick observers as of magnitude sixteen, now regarded the star during the month of August and the beginning of September as being of the tenth magnitude, the visual magnitude, contrary to what was before observed, being now somewhat greater than the photographic. From this last fact it can be inferred that the star's light was in great part of that quality which predominates in the visual part of the spectrum. On August 30th the Astronomer Royal's photographs made the star of the twelfth magnitude, while the visual observations of Freeman, Copeland, Küstner, Ristenpart, Burnham, Kreuger, and others agreed in placing the magnitude about the number ten. Even on September 14th it was about the same magnitude to Mr. Newall in the Cambridge twenty-five-inch telescope.1

With regard to the spectrum, the Rev. T. E. Espin announced that its light was monochromatic and that the spectrum consisted of a brilliant line, the perplexing line in the green near 500. Herr Bélopolsky, at Pulkova, detected two lines, the one a green line, the mean of measures made on five nights placing it at 501, and the other too variable in brightness for satisfactory measurement. Dr. Copeland and Mr. J. G. Lohse, with the Dun Echt fifteen-inch refractor, measured the two lines as being situated at 5003 and 4953, in other words, they seemed to be the two lines characteristic of a gaseous nebular. Subsequent observations revealed a distinct line in the yellow near 5801, about the place of a line seen in 1876 in Nova Cygni, and to

¹ On Oct. 29th its visual magnitude as observed at the Radcliffe Observatory, Oxford, was 9.6.

be found in a certain class of bright line stars. The star also showed a faint continuous spectrum in the green. Herr Bélopolsky also recognized a yellow line, which he presumed to be D or D₃, F of hydrogen was also visible, and a dark line about 465. In the Cambridge twenty-five-inch Mr. Newall saw a bright line near C of hydrogen, three bright lines close together in the green, a faint bright line in the blue presumably F of hydrogen, and a still fainter line in the violet. The continuous spectrum was recognized, but no dark lines. Later observations showed the line in the red, and the green triplet, while the blue and violet lines had faded away. Finally, on October 14th, the red line being fainter, the yellow line, possibly 5801, was brighter. These observations of Newall are important as connecting the general appearance of the spectrum of this tenth magnitude star with that observed on March 24th by Dr. and Mrs. Huggins, when the star had fallen to nearly the eleventh magnitude. For on that date "the four bright lines in the green were distinctly seen, and appeared to retain their relative brightness; F the brightest, then the line near b, followed by the lines about 5015 and 4921. Traces of the continuous spectrum were still to be seen."1 Turning now to the photographs of the spectrum, Professor Pickering, whose plate of March 21st gave the hydrogen lines G', F, H, h, in the order of brightness named, on September 2nd photographed two lines of equal brightness, G' of hydrogen, and the other near 500. Herr Gothard, at Herény, compared his spectrograms with the lines given by the bright-line Wolf-Rayet stars, and the Ring nebula, with the result that a satisfactory agreement was detected between them. Finally Dr. Campbell, at Lick, observed or photographed eleven lines, among them being the hydrogen lines F and G', and at least nine of the eleven lines, according to his measures, being found in the nebular, or bright-line star spectrum.2 The lines 5002, 4953, and 4857 he regards "as undoubtedly the three nebular lines, displaced towards the violet. . . . The nebula is therefore approaching us with a velocity of at least one hundred and seventy-five miles a second."3 Professor Barnard too recognized with the Lick equatorial the visual appearance of a planetary nebula in the

¹ Loc. cit. p. 492.

⁸ Astronomy and Astro-Physics, October, 1892.

² In a more recent paper, Astronomy and Astro-Physics, November, 1892, he records the identification of the two outstanding lines in nebular spectra.

new star, a result, however, which neither Mr. Newall or Mr. Roberts can succeed in verifying with their instruments. while Mr. Newall suggests a very plausible explanation for the nebulous appearance of the star in the Lick telescope.1 Must we then conclude that the Nova has become a planetary nebula? In spite of the great and acknowledged skill of Drs. Campbell and Copeland in spectroscopic researches, we remain not quite satisfied on the point. And first we must remember that the star at its second outburst was very faint. and that to measure the position of bright lines in a very faint star is by no means an easy matter, although it may be justly urged that in the present case the measures of the two green nebular lines as given by the two independent observers are most concordant. In the next place, of Dr. Campbell's list of eleven bright lines, which are found in nebulæ, seven are recorded as covered by, or lying upon the edges of bright lines photographed at Stonyhurst in February, while another is very close to the position of a line measured by Dr. Becker in the same month. In fact, the only line that cannot be satisfactorily accounted for is the conspicuous green line near 500. But even with regard to this line the mean of Bélopolsky's measures place it at 501, very near indeed to its old position, while to Campbell himself it seemed, in a powerful grating spectroscope, to be a very broad line or band. We may also remark with regard to 495 that the map drawn by Dr. and Mrs. Huggins, in March, shows two lines very close to this position. Then we have the similarity in general appearance of the spectrum of the waning and waxing star, as witness the observations of Dr. and Mrs. Huggins and of Mr. Newall, and finally the testimony of the Lick observer, that when observed in August the "continuous spectrum presents the appearance of containing a large number of bright lines, just beyond the power of the telescope to define."2 At least then we may conclude that the evidence, and the probability founded thereon, of the spectrum of August and September containing the nebular lines, is of much lower weight to the almost concurrent evidence of observers, and the corresponding high probability of their non-existence in the earlier spectrum.

2 Loc. cit.

¹ The opinion of observers at the November meeting of the R.A.S. seemed to be that the telescopic appearance of the star was unlike that of other stars in its neighbourhood, though it could not with certainty be described as a planetary nebula.

But how are we to account for the various phenomena optical and spectroscopical presented by this remarkable new spot of light in the Milky Way? For any theory of the new star's origin and physical constitution must needs find an explanation for the sudden outburst of light, for the fluctuations, the wanings and the waxings of the light, for the wonderful spectrum, its extent, its multitude of lines, its complexity, the bright lines with their dark companions, the enormous relative velocities indicated by the same, and the long continuance of these velocities without any appreciable alteration. of meteorites meeting at a level crossing are excluded by the absence of the carbon and magnesium lines or bands from the spectrum. So too are all theories based on the assumption of a star rushing away in our line of sight and moving through a nebula coming towards us, for the nebular lines were not present in the earlier spectrum, and their appearance in the later spectrum is problematical or at least not proven. But in discussing the spectroscopic appearance of the star we have pointed out the many analogies with the spectrum of the solar chromosphere and prominences, and, be it remarked in passing, the hydrogen spectrum, whatever else was present, was a marked characteristic of the later appearance of Nova. Was it due then to two bodies composed of materials like our sun colliding in space? In that case the energy of motion being converted into energy of heat, the solid bodies would form a violently agitated and rapidly expanding gaseous mass, which, after a series of contractions and expansions, would finally become a sun-like orb. The initial outburst of light might thus be accounted for, but it is difficult to see, the total amount of radiative energy remaining the same, how the fluctuations of the star's light and its rapid dissipation could be thus explained. But if the conversion of external energy of motion into energy of heat is excluded, we must turn to the pent-up internal energies of the heavenly bodies, to inquire how they could be liberated. This is Dr. Huggins' explanation of the phenomenon, a further advance on a theory due originally to Klinkerfues and afterwards developed by Wilsing. Conceive two bodies in different stages of evolution, but still of the solar class, to be travelling

¹ After reading Dr. Campbell's more recent papers we are inclined to modify this opinion, and to think that if the later spectrum contains lines near 500 and 495, then they were probably present in the earlier spectrum, but masked by dark bands, as ndeed some observations mentioned above seem to indicate.

through space with enormous speed, such a speed as puts at defiance the universal law of gravitation, accepting the word universal as limiting the application of the law to our own known system or universe, such a speed as is displayed by the so-called run-away stars Arcturus and No. 1830 of the catalogue of Groombridge. Moreover, let us postulate that they are moving in hyperbolic orbits, and again that these orbits are performed in planes not very much, if at all tilted to our line of sight, these last two postulates being well within the limits of possibility. What will occur if furthermore these two bodies pass sufficiently close to one another? On the Klinkerfues-Wilsing hypothesis, they will mutually deform one another, set up tides in the gaseous materials of which they are composed, and induce such differences of pressure in their respective atmospheres as will be capable of producing enormous eruptions from the hotter interior layers of the two globes. Thus would the chromospheric lines, the number of lines, the hydrogen spectrum, the reversal phenomena, the sudden outburst of light, its fluctuations, and its final waning be accounted for. And the two stars are only to be supposed to be rushing the one towards us, and this one giving the dark lines superposed upon the faint continuous spectrum, and the other, which gave the bright lines, receding from us, and we have the curious matching of bright by dark bands, and the observed displacement of the lines from their normal positions. The permanence of this displacement can be met by the assumption of the motion of the two bodies as having taken place in hyperbolic orbits, so that after their swing round one another, the components of their velocities in the line of sight would continue nearly constant for a long time.

But these high velocities and their continuance without apparent change for several weeks, as well as the one body having been, so to speak, a dark replica of the other, are very great difficulties in the way of the acceptance of Dr. Huggins' theory in its entirety. Accordingly Father Sidgreaves has proposed a modification of the theory, by which we get rid of these somewhat unsatisfactory factors. The foundation, however, of his explanation rests upon the fiducial line F being at the point common to both dark and bright F in the Nova and not in the bright F, a question which we have already sufficiently discussed, and the bearing of which upon the theory of the new star is important. According to Father Sidgreaves then, the

original upset of equilibrium may be attributed to the casual passing of one body near another, as actual collision seems to be excluded, but the whole of the phenomena visual and spectroscopic are to be attributed to the light of one body, and not to the integration of the light of two. In other words, we have a cyclonic storm similar to those seen in the sun, but on a very much greater scale. "A great cyclonic storm of heated gases would produce this double effect (i.e., the dark lines matching the bright lines), if the heated gases were rushing towards us in the lower depths of the atmosphere, trending upwards, and returning over the stellar limb. In the lower positions the advancing outrush would be screened by a great depth of absorbing atmosphere (hence the dark lines), while as a high retreating current its radiation would be along a clear line to our spectroscopes" (the corresponding bright lines).1 Certainly M. Deslandres has seen such appearances in solar prominences, while other solar observers can testify to the reversals of lines in prominence and sun-spot spectra corresponding to those observed in the bands of the Nova. Nor are the velocities on this hypothesis greater than some observed in solar storms by Father Fenyi of the Observatory of Kalocsa. But a difficulty is furnished by the case of the star B Lyræ. It too shows these curious dark and bright companion lines, but the bright lines, according to Professor Pickering, alternately and periodically appear right and left of the corresponding dark lines. We cannot possibly suppose this periodic shifting to be the result of periodic storms, with the bright gases alternately rushing up and down. Other considerations too seem to show that the fluctuations in the light of β Lyræ are due to the action of two bodies. And β Lyræ is a variable star, so too is T Coronæ, the new star which appeared in 1866, and was the first to be subjected to spectroscopic analysis, and which also showed the dark flutings characteristic of Secchi's Type III. of stars, to which type or class a very large proportion of variables are to be referred. Again, the sun itself is a variable star, the variation of light and heat being, it is true, on a small scale, but yet the curve of sun-spot frequency bears such a striking resemblance to the light curves of many variables, that it is impossible not to see a common or related cause for the phenomena of spot-variation in the sun and light-variation in the stars. So that the sun may

¹ The Observatory, loc. cit.

be connected through the link of variability both with temporary and variable stars. And yet the sun according to the celebrated speculation of Kant and Laplace, a speculation which has received in these later years a much firmer basis of probability from the thermodynamic calculations of Lord Kelvin and Professor Helmholtz, and from the knowledge of the cosmos acquired by means of the camera and the spectroscope, was originally formed from a gaseous nebula. If then it should be established that the Nova of 1892 really re-appeared after its first decline in light as a planetary nebula, and, be it noted, that of 1885 appeared in the midst of a nebula, have we in our spectroscopes and telescopes been watching the genesis of a nebula from a prior state of matter, which will perhaps in its turn be ultimately formed into a sun and its attendant planets? Many problems then of intense interest are suggested by the new star in Auriga, and yet, although our knowledge of these rare and temporary appearances in the heavens has been vastly increased by its advent, we must fain confess that it has also accentuated our ignorance of the ways by which the Divine Intelligence works out His wonderful plans. What then are we to think of those who like Strauss and his followers in Germany, and their more recent English imitators, boasting of a knowledge of the formation of the universe which is not warranted by exact science, use it to attack the Mosaic account of the creation which is given in the first chapter of Genesis, on the interpretation of which theologians and exegetists are by no means agreed, and thence with rare philosophical acumen deduce that science and revelation are in antagonism the one with the other. "And God said: Be light made. And light was made." And although the Divine Wisdom is not limited by any possible ways we may conceive of for the first dawning of light in our system, yet perhaps the method selected was like to that which resulted in the appearance of the new star of 1892 in the outskirts of the Milky Way.

ALOYSIUS L. CORTIE.

A Mixed Marriage.

THE SECOND PHASE.

CHAPTER V.

FETCHED BACK.

THE state of Humphrey's mind when he discovered that his wife had taken flight with her boy cannot well be described. He was not a man who at all relished being defied, especially by his wife; and the discovery that she had done so, and in such a ludicrously effectual way, roused the most resentful indignation in his heart. His first feeling was that to the end of his life he could never forgive her; his second was that he must at once find her and bring her back, and his third feeling was that he must conceal from everybody the fact of her ever having left him. The scandal of the whole proceeding wounded his pride to the very core; it was difficult to know which irritated him most, his wife's defiance of him, or the scandal which would be caused by it.

This fear of publicity hampered him very much in his inquiries, for how could he ask questions without betraying the fact that she had left him without his knowledge? However, once he did ask questions, tracing her flight was an easy matter; and though it was only next morning that he could make up his mind to catechize the officials at the railway stations, once he did so he had no difficulty in discovering by which train, and for what station she had left North Cray. Though it was true, as Mrs. Sparrow had suggested for Margaret's comfort, that she had not been able to take her ticket straight from North Cray to Amleigh, once her husband knew the general geographical direction she had taken, he had no difficulty in concluding that she had gone to her old home. So it was to Amleigh that he followed her, only by a quicker and more direct route than she had taken with Arnold the day before. Even as it was, the

journey was a tedious and cross-country one, and the worry and cold did not tend to improve his temper.

But arrived at Amleigh, whither was he to turn to seek his wife? He had never been there, but he knew the place well. In the bright and free days of their early married life, when Margaret spoke about everything that was in her thoughts, he had learnt as much about Amleigh, and her life and surroundings there, as there was to be learnt. So it was that during his journey he made up his mind that if she were at Amleigh at all she had taken refuge in the convent; and it was with a very sore and angry heart that he directed the flyman to drive him there from the station. He judged his wife beforehand and almost vowed that he would never forgive her if she had hidden herself and the boy away from him there. He was not sure that, if she had done so, he could get them out without resorting to means which would call forth the very publicity he wished to avoid.

He rang at the convent door bell viciously, and the portress, having first peeped at him through the little shutter, opened the door promptly. He having said that he came on important business, she showed him into the parlour and fetched the Superioress.

Angry as Lord Alne was, he had not forgotten to be a gentleman, and it was in no impolite tone that he asked the good nun if his wife were in the convent. When she denied any knowledge of Margaret's whereabouts he was not at all sure that he believed, or ought to believe, what she said, but he felt that he could not well give her the lie. He then proceeded to ask her to inform him where his wife was if she was not in the convent. Of course she could tell him nothing, and this more than ever confirmed him in his belief that she and Arnold were somewhere inside where he could not reach them; but still he could not insist, and felt himself baffled.

He had, however, one more string to his bow, which he would use before he made matters unpleasant at the convent. Margaret had formerly talked a great deal about her old nurse, and Jenny Sparrow's name had stuck in his memory, so, before taking his leave, he asked to be directed to her house. Mrs. Sparrow was well known at the convent and her address was readily given. Thus it happened that Lord Alne went as nearly straight to the mark as he did.

When Margaret saw her husband she started to her feet, still feeling like the maternal sheep in her defensiveness. Jenny, though she had never seen him, guessed by intuition who the visitor was whom she had admitted to her house, and told her "old man" afterwards that she had never felt more frightened in her life than at that moment.

"So you are here," was all he said, in a quiet tone. The sight of his wife at Mrs. Sparrow's chimney-corner was an immense relief to him after what he had gone through at the convent, but still his disagreeable experiences there had so added fuel to his resentment, that now, when he found himself face to face with her, he felt all the indignation he would have felt had she in reality sought that shelter which he had dreaded.

"Where is the boy?" he continued, in the same quiet tone.

"I cannot tell you," she foolishly answered, for she had a desperate hope that he might be led to think that she had hidden Arnold somewhere else, and would leave Mrs. Sparrow's house without seeking further.

"Do not carry your folly too far, Margaret," he replied, speaking measuredly and even courteously, though he turned white to the very lips. It was only her deep knowledge of him which made her know that his anger was far more intense than it had been even on that first day, when he had spoken so violently to her. Jenny thought that he was taking matters uncommonly easy. "Do you think," he went on, "that I cannot see the boy's hat and coat hanging up there, so that I know he is in the house? Go and fetch him, and we shall catch the night train back. I have a fly at the door."

Margaret, seeing that all was lost, turned and went in silence

up the winding, creaking, wooden stairs.

"Oh, my lord," cried Mrs. Sparrow, as she caught sight of Margaret's look of utter misery. "Don't! You'll break her heart. Don't carry her off like that, worn out as she is; and the little boy upstairs, he's tired out! Let her stay to-night. I cannot offer your lordship a bed, but the hotel in the High Street is very comfortable, and your lordship would find it so, I'm sure. Oh, my lord," she continued, bursting into tears, "you'll break my poor lamb's heart."

"I am very sorry, Mrs. Sparrow," he replied, civilly, "that my wife cannot pay you a longer visit now. Some day, perhaps, I can spare her to come and stay longer, but just now she is

wanted very much at home, and I cannot leave her."

He had so completely made up his mind as to the line that he meant to take about the whole affair that even to Mrs. Sparrow, who must have known the truth, he spoke as if his wife's journey to Amleigh had been made with his full consent. He spoke no more, but stood drumming with his forefinger on the cracked American cloth cover of the table, while Mrs. Sparrow sniffled and rubbed her eyes violently with her apron.

At last Margaret came down, holding Arnold by the hand. The boy, scarcely awake, set up a loud howl when he caught sight of his father, come, as he thought, to take him to school; and then it was that Lord Alne lost his temper. The self-control which he had been, with such difficulty, exercising over himself, relieved itself by the sounding box on the ear which he gave his little son, such as no amount of provocation would have made him give his daughter. The boy's howls subsided to a whimper, but the blow hardened Margaret's heart against her husband. She kissed Jenny very calmly, and passed through the door which he held open for her, and into the fly without another word.

That was a terrible night-journey. Arnold lay fast asleep on the seat of the railway-carriage, covered from the cold with his father's coat, and by his father's hands. He, his father, lighted his reading-lamp, knowing that sleep was impossible, and read, or pretended to read, an evening paper. Margaret sat motionless and rigid the whole night through, feeling very miserable, and telling herself that she could never, never love her husband again.

London was reached before daybreak. Lord Alne had, by telegram, engaged rooms at the station hotel there, meaning to return later in the day to Alne Court with his wife and child, insanely hoping that the Ulminster world would imagine that they had been on some pleasant excursion together.

A sleepy chambermaid showed the travellers to a bed-room, a small room with Utrecht velvet hangings, the fusty smell of which Margaret for evermore connected with the events of that night.

When the maid had lighted the tall candles and left the room, Humphrey spoke for the first time since they had left Mrs. Sparrow's house.

"You and the boy had better both lie down and get some sleep," said he. "I will order breakfast at nine."

And so he left her. He hesitated at the door. Should he take such a petty revenge on his wife? Should he treat her like an escaped criminal, unworthy to be trusted? Yes; the temper, raging within him all the more hotly because controlled, won the day, and after he shut the door Margaret heard him turn the key in the lock with a loud snap.

The sound, and the sense of humiliation it conveyed, broke her down at last, and laying her head on the pillow she shed hot, bitter tears of mortification, till a few hours of blissful sleep

came to her help.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IRON WHICH ENTERS THE SOUL.

SILENT again was the journey back to Alne Court that forenoon, silent the rest of the day, silent the evening. It was only the next morning, at breakfast, that Lord Alne allowed himself to give words to the deep indignation within him.

"Do you think, Margaret, that I can ever again trust you as I have done?" said he. "I did not think that you could have acted so foolishly."

Margaret did not reply. She felt very ill, and she wished that she were more ill. She almost wished that she were dying, and yet she was too restlessly miserable to give in, and lie down, and let herself be ill.

"I should have thought," he continued, "you would have had more care for your good name, and my good name, than to run away from my house in the dead of night. Did you think that sort of thing could be kept secret?"

"I did not care," murmured his wife.

"More fool you, and I must say it," he replied. "Do you think that anybody in the world will believe that you did such a mad thing for the reason I believe you did do it for? The world will only know and remember that you ran away from me. I dare say that even by this time some clever gossips have found a name for the man you will be by way of having left me for. I do not quite mean that," he continued more gently as he saw her look of horror.

"I never thought of all that sort of thing," said she, "and,

indeed, I am sorry that I did not think. But, oh, Humphrey, I felt I must do something to save my poor little Arnold!"

It was an unfortunate speech, for Lord Alne, who had felt almost softened when he saw his wife's look of white horror at his former words, hardened his heart again when she mentioned the real motive of her flight.

"Your poor little Arnold!" he repeated with a bitter laugh. "You quite ignore that it is from his own father that you talk of saving him! No," he continued, more gloomily, "I never would believe half that my mother used to say to me about the ways of you and your Church, but it is proved that she was right. Once get the influence of priests in the house, and there is an end to a man's peace. His wife is not his wife, and his children are not his children; and his wife is the one to tell him so!"

"Indeed, indeed, Humphrey," she replied, "when I ran away with Arnold I may have been foolish, I may possibly have been wrong, but it was all of myself that I did it. I never breathed a word of what I was going to do to any living soul."

"So, of course, you say," returned he, "and so perhaps you think. But how am I to know who may be, unbeknown to me, pulling the strings of our joint lives? I dare say you will always act according to your conscience, but it is the very warping of your conscience that I fear. There is no wish of mine which I can be sure you will not find it right to go against; nothing I may have forbidden you to do which you may not feel it your duty to do in spite of me. All confidence must cease between us!"

"Oh, Humphrey, you are cruel," replied Margaret, indignantly; and no more was said that time.

The day arrived for Arnold to go to school. His mother sat alone in her sitting-room, with aching heart, listening for the sound of the wheels of the carriage which was to take her little boy away from her—till when?

The carriage drove up to the door, and she sat, listening to the noise made by the highly-fed horses champing their bits and pawing the ground, waiting and watching for another sound. It, too, came at last, the sound in the passage of her husband's voice, mingled with a child's wailing cries; and Lord Alne opened the door.

"Come," said he, "come and kiss your mother, and say you. LXXVII.

good-bye. Be a man, Arnold. I am ashamed to see a big

boy like you crying because he is going to school!"

And the child came into the room, his face disfigured with crying, his poor little eyes swollen with tears, his whole body jerking with the violence of his sobs, and threw himself into his mother's arms.

"Make haste, old man," continued his father; "time and trains wait for no one, you know. So come along, old boy, or we shall be late," and so saying, he gently tried to draw the boy from his mother, but in vain. She pressed her son to her heart, and then it was she who tenderly loosened his convulsive grasp, and almost pushed him from her. Her husband led the sobbing child away, wondering at his wife's want of emotion, for he himself felt quite upset both by the child's grief, and at the idea of this early separation from him.

-Her calmness was nothing but the hardness of the bitterness of her soul. Could her husband have dived into the depth of Margaret's agony of mind, he might have been startled. Her mother's heart was wrung not only by the loss of her son, but by the thought of her little boy-and such a little boy-being plunged into life away from home, from mother, and all that he was accustomed to turn to for help: plunged into temptations which he would be unarmed to resist; into sins which he would welcome open-armed, scarce knowing them at first to be sins. He was sent out into the world to be tried seven times in the fire, to emerge from it, haply, with spurs won, and considered in all ways a perfect and approved man, little heed being, alas, taken of how often, how grievously he might have been scorched in the process. And this was her son, whom she had brought into the world!

In the evening when Humphrey returned from taking little Arnold to Dr. Whittaker's, he related to his wife, as unconcernedly as he could, all that had taken place, and how the child had seemed happier before he left him in good Mrs. Whittaker's hands. Margaret listened in silence. She had fortitude enough to be silent, but she could not have spoken. After the events of the day, her husband had no heart to inflict any more pain on anybody, feeling, as it was, very like an executioner; and he vainly tried to treat the evening as if it were just like every other evening he had known in his married life.

Next morning, however, he nerved himself to one more unpleasant task. The heat of his anger was over, though his moral indignation remained, so what remained to be done he did unwillingly.

"Margaret," he said, "before we leave this detestable matter, I trust for ever, there is one more thing I must say. Can I trust you to promise me, and to keep your promise, that when Arnold comes home for his holidays, you will not mention religion to him, or try in any way to influence him?"

"Oh, Humphrey," she cried, "I cannot do that, indeed I cannot."

"Then," replied her husband, bitterly, "I cannot have the boy home here for his holidays. You have only yourself to thank for it!"

Truly, then, the iron entered into Margaret's soul.

Nature was very kind to poor Margaret Alne. The chill which had really seized her the day when she made her wintry flight, and the immediate effects of which her excitement had staved off, seized her irresistibly now, a few hours after the last talk recorded with her husband.

For a week or two she lay in bed, the splitting pain in her head, and the aching in all her limbs forcing her thoughts to fix themselves on them instead of on the deeper pain of her heart. But still she carried her mental trouble with her through those days of bodily suffering. Through her feverish nights and semi-wandering state, Arnold was ever before her, each pain of her body seeming in some way to represent her separation from him. The boy was always just near her, and she was always vainly trying to reach him, but something, a sort of cloud, which in some way or other was equally her husband's hand, always interposed.

When Humphrey saw how really ill his wife was, his first impulse was to be more angry than ever with her for the mad prank which had made her ill. But when she became worse, and he thought she was going to be worse still, his angry feelings melted away; and by the time she recovered he was quite ready to forgive and forget the past.

As his anger passed away, he began to acknowledge to himself that though she had not behaved about it as she should, Margaret had some cause for complaint. It was in this frame of mind that he arrived at a resolution which to him seemed magnanimous, or anyhow to make atonement for all pain he had inflicted on her, both by his breach of promise and subsequent conduct. He thought it over during Margaret's illness, and as soon as he considered her sufficiently recovered he went to seek her in her snug sitting-room, to broach the important subject.

"Margaret," he said, poking the fire according to his old habit, "I know that you think I have been cruel about Arnold; I cannot look at you and not know what you are feeling about it. But I am not quite a brute, though," he added with a half laugh, "I dare say you think I am. I think, however, you know, that if you would but try, you would see that I am not such a brute. I wish I could get you to look at my conduct a little from my point of view, and to see the possibility of my convictions and principles concerning our children being as strong and unbending as yours. My sense of my duty towards them may not, like yours, be influenced by anxieties about their salvation, but it is none the less imperative on me. However, I know that it is of no use arguing the point, for we look upon things from such opposite points of view that the only hope of harmony lies in a compromise. The long and the short of it is that I want you to understand that though I must have my way about Arnold's bringing up, I will not interfere with you about Gertrude. I may not be right in principle to consent to this, but under the circumstances it seems to be the only thing to be done. So you shall bring her up in your own way, I promise you."

"How do I know you will keep your promise," were the words which sprang to Margaret's lips, but they never passed them. Not even now could she bring herself to say a bitter or sarcastic thing to her husband, though it is to be feared that thoughts of the kind floated abundantly through her mind.

"I only make one proviso," he added, "for though I give her over to you, I do not forget that I am the child's father. Bring her up as you like, teach her what you like, but I do not want her educated at a convent or made a nun of."

Perhaps Humphrey expected an outburst of gratitude from his wife. If he did he was disappointed. Margaret could think bitter things of him now, even though she might not say them, and she felt with truth that he was conferring no new boon; he was but repeating in part his forgotten promise of long ago. So though in her heart she was thankful for the turn things had taken, she felt no gratitude to her husband. She answered in a curious hard tone which made him look wonderingly at her, for she had never spoken like that before.

"I want to arrive at a clear understanding," she said. "With the exception of having Gertrude brought up in a convent, you allow me to teach her exactly what I choose, and as I choose?"

"Yes; have I not just said so?"

"Then," she continued, "you will let me part with Mdlle. Delemier?"

Lord Alne frowned with something of his past gloominess. Ought he to allow prejudice to deprive his little girl of such a valuable governess? His mother thought so very highly of her, and was never tired of singing her praises and congratulating him on the possession of such a treasure. He knew nothing of the suffering which this woman had caused his wife.

"Well, I suppose so," he said at last. "Do as you wish; I have said you may. Get rid of her; but I only hope you will get a governess in her place as valuable as she is."

And that was all that passed; not one word of thanks did Humphrey get for his magnanimity. But let it be said here once and for all that he never broke this promise, and that, moreover, Margaret never feared that he would.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TWO DARK YEARS.

THE two years which followed were dark years to Margaret Alne, years which would gladly be ignored by any one who loved her, years which, after they were over, she would gladly have blotted from her existence. They were not only years of great pain, but they were years when—and none knew it better than herself—her soul was trembling, as it were, in a balance.

Her pain was great. We have all seen the sufferings of some poor dumb beast when she has been robbed of her young, how she wanders to and fro, miserably restless, and will not be comforted. Fortunately for her, her memory is short; a few days, at most, of feverish, inconsolable sorrow, and the memory of it is gone for ever. Our higher natures play us a sorry trick on a similar occasion, for our reasoning powers

prolong our pain long after, were we like the dumb beasts, it would have ceased to be.

It was months before the wound caused in Margaret's heart by the loss of her child was at all healed over. With the higher part of her she suffered for the greatest loss of her child, the loss of his faith; but her lower nature suffered too for the loss, pure and simple, of the child of which she was the mother. Her suffering, in this respect, was almost of that hungry kind which we see in the lower animals.

Her maternal instincts were of a highly developed order. She had rejoiced with unmixed joy at the birth of her children. She had revelled in the life of the living ones, and blindly mourned the loss of those who had died, though after her experience with Arnold her sense might have told her rather to rejoice. She loved both her children devotedly, but as with many mothers, it was to her son that her heart went out most; and in her suffering now she almost forgot her little daughter. If she thought of her it was to feel almost jealous of her to think that she should be left while the other was taken. But the poor little girl's dumb sorrow for the loss of her brother, her piteous, white, wistful face, as she followed her mother's restless movements like a shadow, won the day. They met in their common suffering, and Margaret clung with love to this little girl when she felt at war with all the world beside.

Thus poor Margaret went restlessly to and fro, both in a literal and figurative sense, neither finding rest nor seeking any; rebelliously beating herself nearly to pieces against the inevitable; saying that she would never be happy again in this life, and that above all she never could or would love her husband again. She felt in her pain that she hated him whose hand had inflicted it. For the first time now she really resented that fatal breach of promise; and while she would not even try to forgive him for that, she bitterly recalled and brooded over every harsh action, every ungenerous word of his during that terrible time that was past, treasuring them in her heart long after he had forgotten them. It was, perhaps, a natural outcome of those years of timidity and apprehension.

And long after the first keenness of the pain would have, in the course of nature, subsided (for time is a wonderful doctor), she hugged it, and forced it and the accompanying resentment to keep up at the same state of high pressure. She had been somewhat like a child in the joys of her life, and in like manner she was somewhat like a child in her woes.

Who does not know the way in which a child measures his naughtiness when he has a grievance against any one? He makes out his plan of action as to the exact amount of sulkiness he will indulge in, exactly how far he will obey the commands of his oppressor, and exactly what quality of obedience he will yield. In this Margaret behaved very like that child. Once she ceased to suffer too acutely to reason, she meted out her line of conduct, and made up her mind as to exactly what amount of duty she would pay her husband. Indeed in no point of duty did she fail; she was almost punctilious in her performance of every action, whether social or domestic, connected with her life as his wife, but there she drew the line; after that she felt herself free. She would not feel any trust in her husband, she would not respect him, and above all she would not love him; and, moreover, she would take no care to conceal from him that she neither trusted, respected, nor loved him. And just as the naughty child knows perfectly well that the line he is taking avenges him almost amply on his oppressor of the time being, so did Margaret know perfectly well that what she was doing was what would make her husband suffer most in return for the wrongs he had done her. But she did not know the amount of suffering which she caused him.

Humphrey had, as he called it, forgiven and forgotten the past; why, thought he, could not she do the same? He considered that by his concession about Gertrude he had atoned for any injury done to his wife in the case of Arnold. He owned, moreover, that his temper had made him treat her as now he would have given much not to have treated her; and in many ways he tried to make amends. He did not know how very near she was to melting each time he tried to win her back to him; all he knew was that the more he tried to soften her, the more she hardened her heart against him. Then he in his turn hardened his heart, and tried to do without her love. He threw himself into every kind of business and occupation, both public and private, and he read more than he had ever read in his whole life before.

He read all kinds of books, but with the increasing thoughtfulness which grew out of the increasing contrariness of his life, he read about, and turned his thoughts, for perhaps the first time in his life, to the affairs of God and eternity; not as

Margaret would have prayed he might do, nor as his mother might have prayed. No, he drank deep of the intoxication of shaking the foundations of all he had been brought up to believe, and had nominally continued to believe, because he had not taken the trouble to think for himself. It was not with him as it is with many a man who, as he grows from boyhood, thinks that he can no longer believe in the God of his youth, even though renouncing his belief be keen agony, worse than the wrenching of a limb from its socket. Humphrey's renunciation of faith cost him no pain, but it was none the less complete for that. He had contentedly lived without a God for the greater part of his life, and now that his soul cried out for one, it was a real intellectual pleasure to him to pull down from His throne Him whom he had never worshipped, and set up instead a god to suit his own views, the worship of whom separated him more even than his old indifference and prejudice from the God whom his wife worshipped, and from his wife herself.

Margaret knew nothing of these workings of his mind. What she did know was that he was more and more away from her, staying away from home for weeks where he used to stay days. He was a good deal with his mother, and Margaret told herself bitterly that most likely the two busied themselves with talking over her and her Popish misdeeds, little knowing that her husband, in his loyalty to herself, had never even told his mother of how she had run away from him with the boy.

It was now two years since Arnold had been sent to school, two years since his mother had set eyes on him. The child always spent his holidays with his aunt, Humphrey's sister, whose husband owned an estate in Devonshire, and where there was a merry house full of boys and girls. Thither his father always took him from school, and there stayed with him as much as his varied business would allow him.

Two years, and now once again poor Margaret gave birth to a little baby whose life went out after feebly flickering for a day or two. Humphrey's heart ached for his wife, and also through her for himself. Without considering what further disagreeable action his conscience might have compelled him to take about this child, he had been counting on its existence as something which might still poor Margaret's feverish misery. Once more in her fresh grief he tried to win her back to him.

Apparently his efforts were in vain, though perhaps this time not all in vain.

As she lay in her darkened room a few days after her child's birth and death, and was, as she had done without ceasing ever since it had been taken from her, mourning its loss, and trying to feel resigned, the thought suddenly flashed across her: why should she mourn? How could she have ever loved a child that was her husband's child?

The spirit of evil is very clever, and thought perhaps to make a master stroke; but in this case he over-reached himself. Margaret's soul recoiled with horror from the thought which had flashed through her brain, and which seemed to sap at the very root of the meaning of married life.

From this it was easy, in her excited state, to pass on further and realize that this sapping process was, after all, only what she had been steadily working at for the last two years.

She had never ignored the indissolubility of her marriage with Humphrey, or that once married to him she was one with him, and never could be other than one with him. In spite of all her supposed hatred of him she had never been able to bring herself to wish that the tie, once made, could be severed. This being so, she now vividly saw that while she had been acknowledging the greatness of the tie between them, she had been doing her best to kill the soul of this union, leaving the mere carcase in existence.

As she lay, and thought almost feverishly, she went over all her old cherished grievances, which she had hugged as food for her resentment, her husband's ways and words during that troublous time two years before. Facing them as she did now in the presence of God and of eternity, they somehow melted into utter insignificance. So she remained face to face with the one great wrong which he had done her about her child; it was a wrong which could not be explained away. But the wrong was done, and she knew that no powers of persuasion or of protestation she was possessed of would be of any avail to undo it; nothing but a new miracle of grace could give back to her son the faith of which he had been robbed! So what was there left but to forgive? Could she not bring herself to forgive the man with whom she had made herself so mystically, so really one?

As she asked herself the question, the veil fell from her eyes,

and (let no one be surprised), a flood of tenderness rushed over her soul, and she knew how dearly she in reality loved him whom she had tried so hard to hate.

Her life, which had been, as it were, once more given back to her after the birth of her poor little baby, seemed to her now all too short to undo the wrong she had done him, and the pain she had caused him by hating him.

More than once she tried, with something of her old way, to talk to her husband of this that was in her mind, but he, as he always did when she was weak and ill, stopped her from talking of anything which could worry her. When she was once more well, and took up her life where she had left it off, she felt as if she were in a dream, for everything was so like and yet so unlike what it had been for the last two years.

She must be alone! She must have time to think, and more still to pray, for how could she face and handle this new aspect of her life except in the presence of God? So, pleading the exigencies of shopping and business with dressmakers, she went to London by herself for a few days, staying alone in the large, half-shut-up house in Belgrave Square, shrouded in its brown holland coverings; alone in the great city, where for those who seek it can be found as great a solitude as in the deserts of Egypt or the heights of the Himalayas.

Her husband thought that she must be demented, but he made no objection to her going. He spared her more easily from his side than he used to do, and he asked her fewer questions as to her movements. Perhaps she had been demented before, but when after her few days' solitude she returned to Alne Court, she was certainly in her right mind.

CHAPTER VIII.

RECONCILIATION!

NEXT morning, after her return from Alne Court, Margaret knocked at the door of her husband's study. In the old days she used to flit in and out unbidden, and this standing on ceremony was only a type of all her present relations with Humphrey.

He was sitting in his chair before the fire reading when she

came in, and put down his book as he saw her, though not so quickly but that she saw its title. She knew the name, though she knew nothing of the merits or demerits of the book; but still she knew its gist. It was a book which had caused a great sensation in the literary and intellectual world, and she knew that it was written by one of the enemies of God, and in all things hostile to faith in Him. As she saw it an undefined and fresh sort of pang darted through her heart, for she had not known that Humphrey cared for that kind of book. It was a new idea and gave her pain, as if she had discovered him in some unfaithfulness to herself.

"Are you busy, Humphrey," she said, shyly; "for I want a long talk."

"I have nothing whatever to do," he replied, with a stretch and a yawn, taking his opportunity of putting his book under instead of on the top of the newspaper. "The longer you stay the better."

So she seated herself on a little stool near his chair, and took his hand in hers. She wanted to sit so that she could look into the fire and not into his face.

"Humphrey," she said, "I have a proposal to make to you. I want, when Arnold's next holidays come, for you to let me go away from here, and have him with you. I could go to London, or pay Aunt Dorothy my long promised visit. It is not fair that you should never have him here."

"Thank you, my Margaret," he replied, in a low voice, after a pause, and addressing her unconsciously by the name he used to call her before that dreary, unloving time. "I could not have asked it of you. Yes, I long to have the boy here. I cannot bear his growing up not knowing the old place. But don't go at once," he continued, after stopping to think whether he were wise in making the concession. "Stay for a day or two after he comes, and then pay your visits. You have not seen him since he left us."

"No, Humphrey," she replied, with a half sob in her voice, "let me go before he comes. I am not very brave, and I should feel it more if I saw him and left him."

"My poor Margaret," resumed her husband, and his voice was not quite steady, "it seems a beastly cruel thing, if it were not so necessary. I suppose," he continued, hesitatingly, "I suppose you do not feel differently after all this time? You could not promise me never to speak about religion to him, or

influence him, could you? You know that is all that stands in the way. If you would do that you could have him as much as you liked with you."

"I could not, Humphrey," she replied, almost inaudibly;

"do not ask me." And he asked her no more.

"Humphrey," she went on, after a somewhat painful pause, during which both were thinking of the last words, "I have a lot more to say, and I do not quite know how to say it. I have been a very, very bad wife to you these two last years. I need not go into all I have thought and felt against you, dearest, for I know you would not like to hear it all. But, oh, Humphrey, I am so sorry for the past, and I hope I shall be so, so different in the future." And as she spoke she almost passionately kissed the hand she held, an action unconsciously typical to herself of the withdrawal of her hard fight against the owner of it.

"Our life has not been as it should be, lately," he replied, gravely; "there is no doubt about it. I do not say you have not been to blame, for I think you have; but I will not excuse myself. You cannot think how I have reproached myself for the way I behaved to you about all that confounded business, my poor defenceless Margaret. Your resistance seemed to drive me mad, and made a beast of me. I suppose had I been a navvy I should have beaten you with a poker, or kicked you nearly to death with my hob-nailed boot; but I did as bad, I think. I fought with my own weapons, knowing how I was wounding you. Do you forgive me, Margaret?"

Margaret again passionately kissed his hand. She could not trust herself to speak, but her husband knew the answer

which her heart gave him.

"Can it be true that you are my Margaret once more?" he continued, turning her face towards him so that he could see it. "I did sin against you, I know; but you have bitterly punished me, so let us hope we are quits. You do not know the pain I have felt at your shutting your heart against me. I do not think you half know what my love for you is. I have heard of men being almost praised for their faithfulness to their wives; but as for me I have never been able to understand the virtue of it. While I have you, no other woman could exist for me. If I have you I have all I ask for in this world; but, Margaret, I do want to have you."

"You shall, Humphrey. What do you mean? You have got me."

"You hardly know what you say, Margaret; you hardly know what I mean. I am a jealous man, and I want you to be all my wife."

"So I am; so I will be more and more, I hope," she replied, almost wondering if he were taking leave of his senses.

"Now that you are once more my Margaret," he continued, regardless of her asseverating interruption, "now that that hideous time is over which has been enough to drive me mad, I feel jealously hungry. I feel as if I wanted you to be more all my wife than you have ever been before."

"Tell me what you mean," she asked, as he paused. "Tell me how I can be more all your wife. I do not understand."

"There has always," he went on, "or rather ever since that first honeymoon year of ours, been a veil between us, always, in my eyes, threatening to grow into a shadow, and I have felt as if I could not stand it. To-day, having got you as my own again, I cannot contemplate even the thinnest little bit of gauze coming between us."

"What do you mean, Humphrey?" she again asked. "I know that I have behaved badly the last two years, and oh, I am now so sorry about it. But what was it that you think came between us before?"

"These two last years have been different," he replied: "and hateful as they have been to me, they have in one sense been better, for I knew that you must know you were wrong, and that your better self would one day tell you so. Now that I can hold your dear face in my hands, and look into your eyes and know that you are mine in spirit as well as in fact, I will tell you what it is that has been almost like a drop of poison in the happiness of our married life, ever since the first year. I will tell you the first, the very first time that I felt it, and you will understand better what it is that I mean. Do you remember one day, many years ago now, for it was some months before Arnold was born, my asking you to go out with me? It was Sunday morning, and a glorious day, the first beginning of real spring. The whim seized me to go for a long ramble with you all up the river, and I asked you if you would mind going to your afternoon service instead of in the morning. And you told me that you must go in the morning; that you would think it very wrong if you did not. Of course I said no more, but I was in a vile temper. You may say that it is petty of me to remember such a small grievance, but it was not small to me.

It was the first time that I realized that any law made by man or men could stand between you and me, my wife."

"I remember," murmured Margaret, "I remember it well, for it was the beginning of everything. I do not think you quite trusted me ever afterwards."

"I do not think I did. I never again felt that you were all my wife. Well, Margaret, as you took me for better for worse, you must take me as I am. I am a jealous jackass, and I cannot stand anything coming between us."

"But, Humphrey," pleaded Margaret, "if in those days I ever did do anything you did not wish (and how seldom it happened)

it was always because I thought it right."

"There is the rub," he quickly replied. "It is because you think it right and that I don't, that I mind it. It is just because, as time went on, and I felt that you recognized another law than mine, and that when the two clashed you would always prefer it, that it dawned upon me that our married life might have its difficulties. I knew that you would always act by your conscience, but I feared that either of yourself, or helped by others, your conscience might become an untrue one, for my ideas of right and yours did not agree. First there came our difference about the children. My sense of right told me that if you accepted the inevitable, you ought to have accepted it honourably; your sense of duty made you try to circumvent me at every turn. Your sense of right would probably have made you proselytize all over the place; according to my sense of right it would have been a cruel wrong to the poor simple people. It did not come to much, for you yielded to me, but, I take for granted, at the expense of your conscience, and this more than anything revealed to me the gulf that lay between your sense of right and mine. It was the same through everything. Were I to cite all the instances that I could if I chose recall, you would think me vindictive, so I had rather not do it. But at last came the crisis, when I felt all my forebodings justified. I suppose that when you acted as you did about Arnold, hoping to succeed, you thought you were doing right, but I think that you acted so wrongly, that there was only one way in which you could wrong me more, and I wonder that our life together was not wrecked for good and all."

Margaret was silent. She only hoped that her husband would not call on her to express any contrition on that point.

To that hour and to the end of her life, her conscience refused to tell her how far she had been right, and how far wrong on that memorable occasion. She had by this time resumed her position on the footstool, and her cheek rested on Humphrey's hand.

"Margaret," he continued, quite dropping the tone of virtuous indignation into which he had imperceptibly fallen, "why cannot we be as others are who love one another, who seem to have one life, one aim, one will? Try, Margaret dearest, now that we have come together again, do try if you cannot be more all my wife. I give you all. I cannot be more all your husband. You could be more all my wife."

Margaret had of late pondered much over the consequences of her having made a mixed marriage. She had pondered with bitterness during those two years that were past, and without bitterness more lately; but all her ponderings had been as to its consequences in connection with herself and her children. Now it dawned upon her what a wrong the whole thing had been all round. It could not be good for her husband to have linked his life to a woman who could, perhaps, never be to him all that a wife should be, as a companion and helpmate on his road through life, and still more on his road towards Heaven. The better man he in one sense became, that is, the stronger and deeper became his sense of responsibility and duty as a member of society and the head of a family, the less perhaps would she satisfy him, the less perhaps would he trust her, even though she, on her side, might be growing every year to be a better woman.

"Humphrey, dear Humphrey," she exclaimed in response to his appeal, springing to her feet, and throwing her arms round his neck, "if you only knew how I loved you, how entirely my whole heart is yours, you could not speak like that. Oh, how I pray God that I may be to you all that a wife can be and should be."

"With, I suppose," he added, somewhat sadly, "the saving clause: as far as is consistent with her conscience. Well, I suppose, no life is meant to be perfect, and I must not expect too much."

Why, oh why, wondered Margaret, had she never seen before how difficult married life in its higher aspect must be for those who, never mind how deep be their love for each other, have different standards of right and wrong. She did not wish to magnify any difficulties she had herself met in her married life, and she knew that others in a like situation to hers had had even fewer to contend with than herself; but, all the same, the principle was established. Difficulties did exist and must exist, and it only required the arising of special circumstances to make these difficulties assume such gigantic proportions that to save her soul she might have to choose—not between God and mammon, but between God and her husband—to whom, had things been as they should be, she was meant to turn, to take his hand to help her on her way to God!

"Do not meet troubles half way, Humphrey," she pleaded, sobered by this last view of the case which had flashed itself before her. "God grant there may never be another cloud in our married life. I do not see why there should be unless we make it. Let us face troubles and meet them if they do come,

but do not let them sadden us before they exist."

"I dare say your advice is good, O Solomon," he replied. "I dare say I am a suspicious, jealous ass, who only deserves to be kicked. Anyhow, dearest one, this is not the time to grumble over the past, but to be glad that my true Margaret has come back to me. We must both of us set to work to forgive the past, and, what is more, to forget it, eh, my Margaret?"

"My darling," she replied, once more throwing her arms round his neck, "I am glad to feel that you have forgiven. As for me, I have forgiven all there was to forgive, and I have

nothing left."

She did not say anything about forgetting. The past with her could not be forgotten.

Reviews.

I.—CHRISTIANITY AND INFALLIBILITY.1

THE doctrine of Papal Infallibility is so universally recognized as the central doctrine of the Catholic Church, that it is difficult for us to understand how it could be possible that for more than eighteen hundred years it was not included in the defined dogmas of the Faith. Some of us still remember good French Curés, who, though they were loyal and devoted children of the Church, nevertheless would not at all admit that the Holy Father could not err in his ex cathedrâ utterances They acknowledged readily enough that he was worthy of all respect and veneration, and that his definitions ought to carry with them the greatest weight; but there they drew the line, and considered the tenets of the Infallibilists as a very injudicious and mischievous exaggeration. But now all this is changed. These worthy but rather inconsequent Gallicans, or semi-Gallicans, have ceased to exist. Friends and foes alike recognize the dogma of Infallibility as necessary to the completion of the deposit of Faith, and the test by which we recognize whether a man is a Catholic or not. Yet what strange notions are prevalent outside the Church as to what Infallibility really means! We who are familiar with the doctrine from our childhood, find it hard to realize the bête noire that the ignorance of non-Catholics finds in it, and the stumbling-block it presents to many an inquirer after truth. Nor have we hitherto had any standard book that we could recommend as furnishing a satisfactory explanation of the dogma, suited for thoughtful and cultivated men and women. Such a work, however, we now have in Father Lyons' Christianity and Infallibility. Clear, thorough, persuasive, and

¹ Christianity and Infallibility—Both or Neither. By the Rev. Daniel Lyons. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

theologically accurate, it will be found invaluable to priests who have converts to instruct or objectors to refute. The first chapter explains the meaning of the phrase, the second gives the reasons why Catholics believe it, the third answers almost every possible objection that can be made against it. Two Appendices complete the volume, one on the encouraging and most undeniable fact that converts find themselves most happy in the "Home of truth," and the other on certain facts relating to the Vatican Council and its procedure.

Perhaps it is too much to say that a book of some three hundred pages on such a subject is exhaustive, but we do say that even the trained theologian will read Father Lyons' book with profit, and will find clearly stated in excellent English all that any cultivated man will ordinarily desire to know on the subject. As an instance of the style of the book, we subjoin a short extract, from which our readers will be able to judge of it for themselves:

Without Infallibility, a certain knowledge of the necessary truths of faith, and of the means of salvation, would be impossible, if not to all, at least to the great majority of men. For in any other theory every point of faith has to be proved, and all the difficulties surrounding it have to be answered; and, supposing this possible, life would not be long enough for the work. Nor would the knowledge of the truths to which God assures us He wishes all men to attain be accessible to all. Then, as some one has happily observed, Salvation would be by scholarship alone. In the theory of Infallibility only one point has to be established, viz., the doctrine of Infallibility itself. This question once settled will satisfactorily settle all other questions. For when I have once fully satisfied myself that there exists, by God's appointment, a living Infallible Teacher of the truth, then all I have to do is to interrogate this Divine Teacher on the point of doctrine, or on the subject of my doubt, difficulty, or ignorance, and without further trouble I have the truth beyond the possibility of error. (p. 69.)

We should like to see this book on the shelves of every Catholic priest, and in the hands of all who desire to understand the true meaning and the necessity of this pivot dogma of Christianity.

2.—THE MANNA OF THE SOUL.1

An admirable English translation of Father Segneri's Manna was published in the year 1879 in four volumes. We now welcome a second edition of the same in a more compact and much cheaper form, smaller indeed in type, yet just as distinct and readable by all ordinary eyes. The translation has been anew collated with the Italian original and corrected where it was found to be in error. The necessity of emendation, however, extended to an extremely small number of passages, in fact almost exclusively to those in which Father Segneri employed terms known only to those who have studied Scholastic Philosophy, the translation evincing so complete a mastery over both the English and Italian tongues, that without any sacrifice of fidelity to the Italian it reads as if it were no translation at all but composed in English. At the same time, there is a flavour of old fashion in the English which adds piquancy to the style and is particularly well suited to the turn of Father Segneri's thought.

As the name of the book implies, the Bread of Heaven, which is the Word of God, is presented in daily portions sufficient to serve as a most wholesome and nutritious food for the soul on every day of the year. Three hundred and sixty-five texts culled from every part of Holy Writ and ranging over a very great variety of subjects have each its own consideration appended, with so careful an analysis of its contents part by part, as to search the very depths of its meaning, to establish its conformity with right reason and draw from it practical rules for the guidance of life. The considerations are no mere dry and intellectual disquisitions, but proceed to erect upon a solid basis of theological principle and careful exegesis a superstructure of no less solid asceticism and piety. In this book Father Segneri shows himself to be a profound theologian, an exact student of Scripture, an able expositor, a moralist with a masterly knowledge of the human heart, an ascetic well skilled in every department of the spiritual life, in the conquest of vice, in the pursuit of virtue, and in the manifold combat which, in one form or another, every man who is in earnest about his soul's welfare has to sustain with the powers of evil.

¹ The Manna of the Soul. Meditations for every day of the year. By Father Paul Segneri. Second Edition. In two volumes. London: Burns and Oates, Limited, 1892.

We are accustomed to think of Segneri as a master of pulpit eloquence, powerful and vivid in his imagery, and not wholly free from the vices fashionable in his day, such as occasional indulgence in mere conceits, the introduction of classical allusions in excess, and a profusion of tropes and rhetorical artifices repulsive to the severe taste of the English scholar who has been trained in the school of Aristotle and has his taste formed upon Greek models. Such defects are not to be found in the present work. The style is even and simple; there is nothing far-fetched or pedantic; all is to the point, though rich in thought and begemmed with references to every part of Scripture.

It is not exactly a book of formal meditations, though those who know how to meditate can without difficulty use it as a manual of meditation. It is rather an aid to reflection, a provision of abundant matter for a thoughtful soul to dwell and feed upon during the day. Those who find the matter too full can easily confine themselves to one or two points; and those who use the book, as spiritual Fathers, or convent chaplains, or preachers may well do, as a source of matter for their instructions or exhortations to various classes of people, will find no reason to complain of jejuneness or want of suggestiveness of thought.

We heartily recommend the work in its English dress as delightful reading, nutritious food for the soul, a stimulus to Biblical study for ascetical purposes, and a repertory of spiritual maxims suited to every variety of soul in every stage of progress towards Christian perfection.

3.—AUGUSTE COMTE.1

There is a tendency among Catholics at the present day to adopt a too apologetic attitude in the face of modern criticism; to look on a sceptical writer as a kind of far off superior being, whose every word must be treated with reverence, and to whom the Church itself must almost apologize if it departs in any single point from his teaching. From this fault Father Grüber's book is singularly free. He has read Comte as few Positivists have read him, and he can fearlessly challenge the faithful Comtists to meet him on their own ground. It will be gratifying to our

Auguste Comte. Sa Vie-Sa Doctrine. R. P. Grüber, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux,

readers to know that both the author's works have been eagerly read by many Positivists, and that they were both noticed very favourably by Dr. Congreve (the leader of the orthodox section) on their appearance. The work before us may be looked on, from one point of view, as a careful exposition of the great French writer's system. The first part deals with the life of the founder of Positivism, and in teaching this subject Father Grüber has an advantage over the previous biographers of the philosopher, MM. Littré and Robinet, who, representing different parties in the Comtist world, are naturally inclined to take a partisan view of one or two facts in his career. Coming to the doctrine he traces the development of the whole system, showing how every part of it hangs together and how impossible it is, as Mill and Littré tried to do, to separate the earlier scientific part of it from the later religious development. Comte himself considered his great work, the Politique Positive, to supersede all the earlier ones, and Father Grüber justifies him in this. For this reason it is not only among Catholics that his book will be welcomed: orthodox Positivists will look on it as a valuable contribution to the vindication of their position against the more anarchical schools of Agnosticism.

As to clearness of exposition we should advise our readers to try the Catechism of Positive Religion, intended by Comte to be popular, and to compare it with Father Grüber's work, which may be understood even by those least practiced in trying to draw a meaning from involved forms of expression made more difficult by a strange and uncouth terminology. A very noticeable point in Father Grüber's method is the fact that he leaves his readers to draw their own conclusions: he seldom gives his opinion, and when he does so it is more by way of suggestion than of definite criticism. We consider this policy especially wise, as Comtism seems to contain in itself a powerful argument for Catholicism. More than one seeker after truth in this country has been brought into the Church through his reading of the works of Comte. Father Grüber has contented himself with giving passages from Comte favourable to the mediæval organization, but the system in reality contains more than this. Properly worked out it seems to us that it must inevitably be a powerful means of leading thinking men to the true faith. Agnostics, as a rule, have become deadened to the necessity or possibility of a broad synthesis. Comte has given a powerful impulse to the building up of

such a synthesis. Father Grüber lays great stress on the negative side of the Positivist teaching, but it must never be forgotten that the purely negative side existed, though it was not systematized, long before the foundation of Positivism. To mention no others we cannot but recall Diderot and the encyclopædists. The principal writers in that work had for their object the systematization of knowledge gained from observation, and their idea had taken root before Comte wrote. He was himself on the negative side, produced by them. His great law, that man passes, individually and collectively, through three successive stages, Theological, Metaphysical, Positive, was realized in himself and others before he began to write.

Comte set before himself to construct, not to destroy, and, as we have suggested, his system properly understood, leads to Catholicism, so much so that we should feel justified in maintaining that those Positivists who have become Catholics are, in reality, better Comtists than Comte himself. This is a fact which can only be properly appreciated by those who have gone through the process, and we sincerely hope that some day the point will be worked out in detail by those who are capable of doing it. There is one statement in Father Grüber's work which Dr. Congreve has noticed in his criticism and which we might wish had been omitted. He speaks of Mr. Frederick Harrison as the authorized representative of Comtism in Now Mr. Harrison was himself educated philo-England. sophically by Dr. Congreve, the leader of the "orthodox" section, and has separated from him to set up a more critical or sceptical system under the auspices of M. Lafitte, whose title to be the successor of Comte is resolutely denied by socalled orthodox Positivists, and who has been hurrying, since the schism, into a minimizing policy which seems to tend towards reducing the doctrines of the founder to zero. We sincerely hope that Father Grüber's work will be widely read by Catholics, and that it will inspire them with the boldness and justness of appreciation with which the author looks into the non-Catholic world.

4.—AMERICAN CATHOLICS AND THE ROMAN QUESTION.1

The Roman question can never fail to be a burning question in the political and religious world, until the happy day arrives, as it certainly will in God's good time, when the Holy Father is restored to the sovereignty which unjust and sacrilegious hands have torn from his grasp. In America the question has an additional interest from the fact that there is in the United States a feeling of sympathy with the Holy Father among those outside the Church, which does not exist to the same extent on this side of the Atlantic, and also from the apparent but not real opposition between the theory of the sovereignty of the people and the indefeasible rights of the Pope to reign in Rome without let or hindrance in spite of so-called plebiscites. Mgr. Schroeder, in a pamphlet which is an expansion of an article that appeared in the American Catholic Review, puts forward the true doctrine on the Papal sovereignty with a convincing proof of his position that will appeal to the common sense of the clear-headed American, and solves the supposed difficulties arising from the form of government dear to the citizen of the States by showing that it is in no way opposed to the claims of the Holy Father. He argues that the welfare of Christendom demands the reinstatement of the Pope, and that even if Italy had to sacrifice something to bring it about, the wider interests of the whole Catholic world ought to prevail over those of a single nation.

As the temporal welfare must be subordinate to the spiritual, so likewise must the incidental claims of a single nation be subordinate to the demands of the Church and the Catholic world at large. Now the Roman question means the security of a spiritual good, the security of ecclesiastical liberty, through the territorial independence of the Head of the Church; a claim most intimately associated with the well-being of the Church and the interests of two hundred millions of Catholics.

Hence Salus rei-publica Christiana suprema lex!

Rome, therefore, belongs to the Church, to her visible Head, and therefore to the whole Catholic world. The Papal States are the incontestable heritage of the common Father of Christendom, "the patrimony of Peter." Romans and Italians would have no right to rob Rome of its essential character, that of the centre of the Church, the capital of

¹ American Catholics and the Roman Question. By Mgr. Schroeder, D.D., Ph.D. New York: Benziger Brothers.

the Catholic world, even though their claims were unanimous, and they really did gain a national advantage by despoiling the Pope, and subjecting the Vicar of Christ to a temporal king. (p. 74.)

But in point of fact Italy, so far from being a gainer by the present *regime*, is being crippled and ruined by it.

Far from having promoted the welfare of Italy, the proclamation of Italian unity has caused it to suffer greatly and has well-nigh ruined it. Rome and all Italy are suffering from the mal di Roma, the Roman plague, that is, financial embarrassment and poverty, the outcome of the mania for political ascendency. The straits in which New Italy finds herself plainly verifies the saying of Thiers: Qui mange du pape en meurt—"He who eats pope dies of it." The Italians, whose sensitiveness in money matters is proverbial, understand the practical application of the well-known adage: La farina del diavolo va tutta in crusca—"The devil's meal all turns into bran." Even those who out of inborn cowardice join in the cry Evviva l'Italia unita will tell a stranger in a significant and plaintive way: Si stava meglio quando si stava peggio—"We fared much better when we were worse off!" (p. 79.)

We hope that Mgr. Schroeder's pamphlet may be spread in England as well as in America. It is a dispassionate and well-argued exposition of a matter in which English prejudice is strong. The judicial and moderate tone that pervades it will recommend it to all; the solidity of the argument makes it well worth studying even for Catholics.

5.-HISTORY OF PERU.1

Mr. Markham is the authority on Peru. His works on that country and on cognate subjects occupy a long column in the pages of the catalogues of our public libraries. He was called upon to write the article on Peru in the Encyclopedia Britannica, and has done his task well. This, his last as well as his largest and most complete book on the subject, naturally gives the last results of his former labours. It apparently forms one of a series of works on the Latin-American Republics.

The author brings, as has been said, a special fitness for his task. He is thoroughly familiar with the country, he has carefully edited a number of the early histories and works on Peru, and is evidently cognizant of the best sources. He

¹ History of Peru. By Clements R. Markham. Chicago: C. H. Sergel and Co., 1892.

has had to face, it is true, the difficulty of writing on a subject which has engaged the brilliant pens of Prescott, of Robertson, and of Helps. And if he has not rivalled their brilliancy, he has given an exact and carefully written record. he is hampered by his very familiarity with the materials, and the hard necessity of crowding into some five hundred pages years so full of incident. If the cruelty of the Spaniards greatly shocks the reader, it is evident that Inca civilization was itself built up on conquest. Nor can a Catholic help feeling that a country which has produced St. Torribio, St. Rose of Lima, and St. Francis Solano must have been blessed abundantly by God, whatever may have been the crimes of its founders or the follies of its rulers. Yet the story of the War of Independence, and of the hideous war against Chile, make the history of that beautiful land, as Mr. Markham observes, "perhaps a sadder record than is met with in most nations."

One criticism which we venture to make is the total absence of any references to authorities. It is true a list of them is placed at the end of the book, but we think that it would be more satisfactory to the reader if they were cited each in their own place. We also find a certain difficulty in making use of the map of the country. It is rather unwieldy in size and indistinct in character, and so fails to serve the purposes of easy reference. It contrasts strongly with the handy and excellent map of Peru in Mr. Markham's earlier work on the subject.

Mr. Markham finds it difficult now and again to speak of Catholic subjects exactly as we might wish; for example, he puts a political and schismatical priest of this century on a level which we could never consent to award to him. But otherwise he shows great impartiality and discretion, when writing on matters in which religious questions are involved.

6.-THE CHILD COUNTESS.1

Story-books for children are doubly valuable if they combine, as does the one before us, both instruction and amusement. The Child Countess, whose portrait Mrs. Maude depicts with skilful hand, would be eagerly read and attentively listened to by the youthful reader, were it merely a creation of the author's

¹ The Child Countess. By Mrs. William Maude. London: Washbourne, 1893.

imagination. But the interest it possesses is greatly enhanced by the fact that so many of the characters are real historical personages. The brief but exemplary life of the heroine was passed in the days when our Catholic ancestors suffered persecution, imprisonment, even death, for adhering to the ancient religion, and to harbour a priest was equivalent to the crime of high treason. Thus the story presents, as we are told in Father Clarke's Preface, "a vivid and interesting picture of the state of society under the early Stuarts, of the reign of terror then prevalent, and of the constancy in the Faith on the part of many Catholics who, unknown generally to fame, earned a great reward

in Heaven by all they suffered for their religion."

Little Ann Egremont passed the first ten years of her life in the happy seclusion of a country house with her father, who alone of all his family did not conform to the new religion. She was an only child, her mother being dead, and from the constant companionship of older persons, she had acquired quaint old-fashioned ways, and was wonderfully proficient in useful knowledge; above all, she was well grounded in the Catholic faith. On the death of her father and uncle, she succeeded to the title and estate of Loveltonne, and went to live with her grandmother, an aged lady, on whom the guilt of apostacy had rested for sixty years. Yet she did not interfere with her grand-daughter's religion; on the contrary, her heart was touched by the child's simple piety and solid virtue. Tears of contrition filled her eyes when she heard her recite the prayers with which her own lips had once been familiar. Influenced by the persuasions of Doña Luisa de Carvajal, a Spanish lady who, as the reader already knows, came to our unhappy country to devote herself to the difficult and dangerous task of delivering Catholics from prison and death, and encouraging them to remain steadfast under persecution, Lady Egremont was secretly reconciled to the Church shortly after her grand-daughter's coming. The minor incidents of the little Countess' daily life while under her grandmother's care are narrated in a pleasant and attractive manner, sufficient of the phraseology of bygone times being adopted to correspond with the account given of the manners and customs of the seventeenth century. Every one must love the sweet child, with her grave eyes, her gold-brown curls, her gold-embroidered cap and long frock; every one must admire her old-world courtesy, her respect for her superiors, her condescension to her inferiors,

her courage in danger, her meekness when rebuked. After a time she returns with her grandmother to Loveltonne, and there, in the "Gable House," where her early childhood was passed, Father Ward, the former chaplain, lies concealed. His presence has to be kept a secret from the household at the Castle. Nevertheless Mass is celebrated, and we are told:

Nancy makes her confession to Father Ward, and afterwards he talks to her in his gentle kindly way, and she pours out all her childish sorrows and difficulties to her father's old and faithful friend.

That was a very happy time. Nancy and her grandmother knelt together at the altar-rails; it was the Lady Egremont's second "First Communion," and Nancy almost forgot to wonder at her grandmother's sudden conversion in her joy at seeing Father Ward once more.

Only too soon it begins to be whispered that a priest is hidden at Gable House. (p. 230.)

Warned of the approach of the pursuivants, Father Ward escapes in disguise. He is taken prisoner, but rescued by the little Countess' prowess from the officers of the King. Lady Egremont, fearing lest her little grand-daughter should be taken from her to be brought up in the Protestant religion, sends her away by night with a trusty servant to be placed under Doña Luisa's sheltering care. A great hue and cry is raised on account of the disappearance of the heiress of Loveltonne; the excitement and commotion are too much for the old lady, who dies with the profession of her faith upon her lips. "Nancy," as she is familiarly called, lives for about a year in Doña Luisa's convent home, but she gradually fades away, and on Christmas Eve, at the age of twelve years, as the old record says, "shriven and houselled, she gave up her innocent soul to God, while her companions were singing a sweet hymn of praise to Christ's Virgin Mother."

7.-MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY.1

The death of Professor Gilmartin, which occurred during the past year, makes the task of noticing this second volume of his History one of mournful satisfaction at his having at least lived long enough to complete the work before us. He has left

¹ Manual of Church History. By the Rev. T. Gilmartin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Vol. ii. Dublin: Gill and Son.

behind him a very lucid sketch of an important period of the Church's history. The subjects are clearly divided and exhaustively treated, and the book is admirably suited for a college course. If we were to venture on a criticism we should say that on some points he hardly seems to give us the last word on the subject treated, as the authorities quoted are not always quite up to date. Historical, like scientific research, regards the author as most successful who has the last word. If scientific studies have advanced with a bewildering rapidity, history has not lagged behind. In England the work of the Protestant Bishop of Peterborough on the Popes of the Renaissance had hardly been published, before Professor Pastor's studies on the same subject threatened to make Dr. Creighton's book antiquated. It is impossible of course for the writer of a text-book of ecclesiastical history, to pretend to base his work altogether on original research. But the student nowadays, besides learning the author's views on the various points which he treats, asks, if he happens to be of a critical turn of mind, to know the authority on which this view is based; and he is anxious also that the authority should be the latest as far as possible as well as the best. It is, no doubt, very desirable when writing for English readers to quote English and Anglican authors, especially where their ends serve as an argument ad hominem. But we have to be careful to see that their authority has not ceased to be accepted by modern Anglicans.

The learned Professor, in p. 908, gives what seems to us a not quite correct view of the relations of the English people to the Papacy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is all the more to be regretted because it is likely to be quoted with approval by the new school of Continuity. It is hardly fair to lay to the credit of the English people the action of tyrannical sovereigns, or of greedy churchmen who were unwilling to part with any portion of their rich endowments for the general good of the Church. Neither was it precisely opposition to the Papacy to object to the granting of benefices to Italians who could not fulfil the primary obligations of pastors. As addressed to the Maynooth students Professor Gilmartin's words will no doubt be rightly understood, but in the hands of the enemies of the Faith they may receive a false interpretation and almost be quoted as an argument against the recognition of Papal claims in England throughout the pre-Reformation period. But if we wish that

Professor Gilmartin had on one or two points expressed himself differently, we none the less recognize the value of his History, and hope that it may have the wide circulation that it deserves.

8.—LINES OF THOUGHT.1

As the nineteenth century draws to its close, England finds few indeed among her sons on whose brow she can place the poet's laurels. In this busy, matter-of-fact world, the muse finds little rest for the sole of her foot. But she has not altogether fled from our shores; although the lay of the minstrels of note is hushed, we have still amongst us singers of lesser fame who know how to enchant the ear and speak to the heart. We can venture to assure the reader who opens the book of short poems which Miss Nichols has lately published, and to which we desire to call his attention, that he will not close it again with a feeling of disappointment. On the contrary, he will probably find his expectations more than realized, and will experience much enjoyment in following out the "Lines of Thought" suggested by these "Thoughts in Lines." Miss Nichols is a lover and a student of Nature, and in her verses she reproduces some of Nature's brightest touches and tenderest shades in a most felicitous manner. It is principally with still Nature that she occupies herself, with "earth and sea and sky," and it is no difficult matter to discern that the hand that holds the pen is equally accustomed to holding the pencil. The writer of the poems is also a draughtswoman of no inconsiderable merit, and it is with an artist's eye that she gazes on the beauties around her. Her skill in this respect is exhibited in three dry-point etchings, one of fir-trees on the cover; while the other two, "rent-rocks" and "evening light," illustrate the text on the page they face. These etchings are a wholesome contrast to the modern photoprint, and a trained eye will pronounce them to be excellent work. But while she revels in the beauties of the external world, Miss Nichols is not careless of the world of thought and of feeling. She sees Nature in the light of Faith, and never forgets that

> Beyond this bounded world of ours A purer world there lies,

¹ Lines of Thought and Thoughts in Lines. By Catharine Maude Nichols, F.R.P.E. Norwich: Published by G. T. Dimmock, 66, London Street, 1892.

and recalls to our remembrance that

Within these veils of sight and sound, This life of sense and touch, A life Divine doth hedge us round.

In the subjects of which she treats, as well as in the metre wherein she clothes her thoughts, Miss Nichols displays considerable versatility. If we might venture to find fault where there is so much to admire, we would suggest that the metre is not always in keeping with the subject; for instance, in "The Mountain of Sin" (p. 43), the rhythm appears almost too light for the solemnity of the ideas. On the other hand, in the first poem, the "Dance of the Leaves," the metre is most happily chosen. "In Fairyland" (p. 57) is a charming little piece; "Retrospection in Age" (p. 22) expresses deep and true feeling, and will awaken an echo in many a heart. These poems are somewhat long to quote here, but we must find space for the insertion of one specimen of these simple verses.

Nature Consoatrix loquitur.

"Here's balm for your burning wound, my child!
Here's rosemary, rue, thyme, and myrrh:
And the healing winds shall allay the pain,
And with joy shall Lethe's dark stream be fain,
All her innermost depths to stir:
That the coolest and clearest, most potent of waters,
May aid in restoring earth's fairest of daughters."

The Reply.

"The rosemary has no scent for me,
And the rue and the thyme no power:
The myrrh alone can for sin atone;
You may leave to me this sweet flower."

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

THE excellent collection, or series of books, published by the Cavaliere Marietti at Turin, has reached its ninetieth number.1 This most useful little volume, written by the Abate Gonella, is on the famous Bull of Pius IX., known far and wide by its leading words, Apostolica Sedis, which retrenched and codified the laws of the Church respecting Censures that are incurred ipso facto. We can strongly recommend to our clerical readers this concise and complete commentary. The author has had the advantage of the numerous and copious commentaries, written by Avanzini, D'Annibale, Bucceroni, and other learned and able men who have preceded him; and he has availed himself of the many decisions of the Holy See that bear upon and explain the various subjects with which the Bull of Pope Pius has to deal. The writer's style is clear, and the book is very satisfactory for use when a point touched by the Bull has to be looked up in a hurry. We have but one wish to express, and it is that Italian writers and publishers would put running titles at the head of the pages, to help us in finding our way about their books.

The Roman Martyrology commemorates, as the reader is aware, among the holy martyrs several young boys who were put to death by the Jews on account of their conversion to Christianity. The little book entitled *The Martyr of Prague*² records a similar case. The incidents related were taken, the Preface tells us, from a letter preserved in the library of Stonyhurst College, and written by an Englishman resident in Prague at the time that they occurred. The story is an

² The Little Martyr of Prague. By Father Joseph Spillman S.J. London: Art and Book Co., 1892.

¹ De Censuris "Lata Sententia," juxta hodiernam Ecclesia disciplinam Brevis Expositio et Explanatio. Auctore Eduardo Gonella. Augusta Taurinorum, typographia Pontificia et Archiepiscopalis, Eq. Petri Marietti, 1893.

interesting and a sad one. The wonderful conversion by the voice of the Mother of God of a boy of twelve, the child of wealthy Jewish parents; the rare piety and intelligence he exhibited; the diabolical perfidy with which he was allured from the House of Proselytes, where he had taken refuge; the horrible tortures inflicted on him by his father and the rabbi; the marvellous fortitude he displayed; his crucifixion and baptism of blood; the exposure of the crime and disinterment of the body, which was found in a marvellous state of preservation: all these things, and more besides, are narrated in quaint and simple language by the good Capuchin monk who was the spiritual Father of the persecuted child. The story is a striking example of the fanatical hatred of the Jews to the name of Christ, as well as of the power and efficacy of Divine grace in the heart of even an unbaptized child.

Messrs. Pustet have brought out a new edition of the Caleste palmetum of Father Nakateni.¹ It is a book that needs no praise of ours. Every one who has used it will have recognized its wonderful completeness, variety, and excellence of the devotions it contains. We miss, however, the Laudes vespertini SS. Sacramenti, which was in our eyes one of the most beautiful and touching devotions to be found in its pages. It seems to us a great pity to have left it out. Whether these were among the devotions that are described in the Preface of the new edition as per temporum circumstantias obsoleta, we do not know, but we should have thought that the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament could never be old-fashioned.

The Art and Book Company have brought out a Parochi Vade-Mecum,² or miniature edition of the Ordo Sacramenta Administrandi. In spite of its size, the print is good and legible, and it contains all that is necessary for a priest who visits the sick and the dying.

Father Cathrein's little book on Socialism³ is quite a standard hand-book for those who wish to find in a brief compass a brief sketch of its development, an account of its principles, and a confutation of them. He moreover shows not only that it is based on false principles, but that it is impracticable, and cannot possibly be worked successfully. The little

* Parochi Vade-Mecum. Leamington: Art and Book Co.

¹ Caleste palmetum. Edo Ratisbonensis secunda, revisa et aucta a M. Aymans, S. L.

³ Socialism exposed and refuted. By Rev. V. Cathrein, S.J. Translated from the German by the Rev. James Conway, S.J. London: Burns and Oates (Limited).

volume is an admirable compendium of useful knowledge on a danger that is continually coming nearer. It is scientific as well as popular, and the English translation by Father Conway, S.J., will, we hope, spread among the English-speaking nations a clearer appreciation of what the nature of socialism really is.

Stories of the Elizabethan persecution always possess a mournful attraction for the descendants of the Catholics who lived and suffered in those terrible times. Above all things we, who through the mercy of God can practise our religion in freedom and security, admire the undaunted courage and selfsacrificing zeal of the English priests who exposed themselves to the greatest danger in order to keep alive devotion to the ancient faith in the breasts of the people. The adventures incident to the life of one of these apostles are narrated in the little volume before us.1 It purports to be the transcript of a time-stained MS. discovered in an old bookshop at Douay, written in the year 1616 by an aged priest. In an agreeable, cheerful manner he records, not without the prolixity of garrulous old age, the perils and trials that befell him on his first missionary expedition to the land of his birth. account of the clever disguises he assumed, of his narrow escape from the relentless pursuivant, of his secret ministrations to the spiritual needs of persecuted Catholics, who, faithful to the proscribed religion, had prayed that in their last hours, one of the holy priests who risked their lives in England for the salvation of souls might be near to speed their parting soul, will be read with the deepest interest. The stories of others less fortunate than himself in escaping the foes that encompassed them, are set like jewels in the golden frame of the old priest's personal experiences.

With the *Home Grammar*, Miss Whitehead supplies a want which not she alone, but many teachers have felt, that of an English grammar neither too elementary nor too difficult for the learner. In a small compass she gives all the principal rules of etymology and orthography, clearly stated and illustrated by examples, besides exercises on the various rules, and pieces for dictation. It is by no means easy, as she remarks in the Preface, to teach a child the rules of grammar in such a

¹ The Old Douay Priest's Diary. By the Rev. George Edwards. Market Weighton: St. William's Press, 1892.

² The Home Grammar: or Helps and Rules for Spelling, Parsing, Punctuation, and Analysis for young Boys and Girls preparing for School. By Laura Whitehead. London: Burns and Oates, Limited.

manner, as to make them at once clear, interesting, and easily remembered. This obstacle in the path of teachers she has striven, and striven successfully, to remove. Her own experience in the tuition of children has made her acquainted with the difficulties most usually met with in the study of grammar. Thus she is well qualified for the task she has undertaken. She has done it admirably, and we heartily recommend the Home Grammar to all teachers for the use of their pupils.

That the noblest part of English literature, wherever it touches on religious topics, is indelibly stained with the taint of error and heresy, every Catholic will sorrowfully admit. Father Bampfield, in a pamphlet entitled, Spots in the Sun: some faults in Hamlet and in Paradise Lost,1 has abundantly illustrated this sad truth by criticizing in detail these particular works of Shakspeare and Milton. While doing full justice to the "exquisite passages of grandest poetry" to be found in Hamlet, he condemns the glorification of the unchristian passion of revenge, which forms the subject of the play; and ridicules the absurd idea of a soul from Purgatory, which Shakspeare apparently represents the Ghost to be, actually instigating the hero to commit murder, and egging him on when he seems to be neglecting the injunction. Again in Paradise Lost, he cannot but deplore those dreadful conversations of God the Father and God the Son, and the bold Arianism with which the poet depicts the relation between the two Divine Persons-an Arianism, as he says, probably more due to ignorance of Christian doctrine than to any conscious heretical leaning. So far we are completely with him, but we must say that in our opinion he pushes his further criticisms of the two pieces a little too iar.

We have received from Mr. Kilner, of Philadelphia, another volume of the Premium Library,² one well suited for a prize for children in middle-class schools. It consists of a collection of short stories which have already appeared in the columns of the Ave Maria, dedicated to "Young Folks." These tales are principally, but not exclusively, intended for girls; it is "Grandmamma" who relates them to a group of merry, lively, and good-hearted grandchildren. Several of them have a

¹ Spots in the Sun: some faults in Hamlet and in Paradise Lost. By the Rev. George Bampfield, St. Andrew's Press, Barnet.

² The Ghost at our School, and other Stories. Reprinted from the Ave Maria. By Marion J. Brunowe. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner and Co.

special bearing on the present festive season: "How Margery managed for Christmas," and "Poor rich Miss Tucker," are most useful as teaching the value of little acts of kindness and thoughtfulness. The story which gives its title to the book is an exciting, almost sensational episode in school-girl life. "That Stupid Girl" conveys an excellent lesson not to judge from externals, since real virtue and talent of no common order may be hidden under an unprepossessing exterior and apparent stupidity. These tales are essentially American, but they will not on this account prove any the less acceptable to young people on this side the Atlantic.

Dr. Lambert, who is already well known for his admirable Notes on Ingersoll, has translated from the Italian of Angelo Cagnola a set of catechetical instructions on the Gospels of every Sunday in the year. It brings out in a most practical and suggestive way the chief points and lessons in each of the Gospels, and furnishes excellent matter for sermons by its clear explanation of the meaning of the words and allusions contained in them.

A layman's counsels to the laity on practical points of religion may in some cases have more weight than the admonitions of the clergy. The latter are a class apart, and are not mixed up in the business and gaieties of the world. They have not the same cares, the same occupations, the same social duties as the ordinary layman, and consequently it is perhaps thought by some that they expect too much time to be given to religious duties. In the little book before us,2 it is a layman who reminds his fellow-Christians that the care of their souls is the one great business of our earthly existence, that religion must be the first and foremost in importance of all the occupations and pursuits of our every-day life; that our time, our money, our attention, is not to be given to self, but devoted to the service of God. He goes through the day of a man of leisure, and points out how each period can be profitably spent, in view of the end of life, when all things that have pleased or pained us will be seen in their just proportions. The perusal of this little book must have an excellent influence on every one, and may be the means of leading many who are inclined to be too much engrossed in

¹ Analyses of the Gospels of the Sundays of the Year. From the Italian of Angelo Cagnola by the Rev. L. A. Lambert, LL.D. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

² The Layman's Day, or Jewels of Practical Piety. By Percy Fitzgerald, London; Burns and Oates, Limited.

material interests, to set God before their eyes in all things that

An Idyl of the Spring¹ is the title inscribed on the elegant little volume before us, with its tasteful cover of turquoise blue and gold. The words are suggestive of freshness and youth and joy, of bright sunshine, soft breezes, sweet songs, and fragrant flowers. The contents of the book are in harmony with its exterior; it presents to us life under its most picturesque and poetic aspect. The heroine of the narrative, an orphaned girl, grows up like a floweret of spring, sheltered from rough winds by the affectionate solicitude of her guardians and her brother, surrounded by everything that would make this world a paradise of delight to one of simple tastes and gentle nature. She is gifted with the sweetest disposition, the richest gifts of mind and heart. Her deep religious tendencies are not satisfied until she finds in a Catholic church the rich pastures for which her soul has been hungering. Her conversion seems to have been effected by means of infused knowledge; at any rate the author has had the good sense to omit the pages of controversy which often mar the interest of Catholic stories. Despising earthly love, Margery dedicates to God the homage of her young heart: the closing scene of the narrative is very touching. The fair flower, too beautiful for earth, is transplanted to the celestial gardens, to blossom in the golden light of eternity.

Sophy's Secret and Kitty's Campaign are two new stories by Miss Dobrée,² to illustrate two gifts of the Holy Ghost, Wisdom and Knowledge. The writer is not very explicit in her account of the distinctive character of these gifts, and not unnaturally. They are gifts which in practice run largely together, so that to write a story which shall be illustrative of Knowledge more than Wisdom, or vice versa, would be rather a feat. However, the great object is to illustrate the practical working of the gifts, and this Miss Dobrée does in the two tales before us very happily. Both are very prettily written, and will be read with interest by the young people for whom they are intended. Sophy's Secret is the story of a little servant-girl, whose spiritual wisdom keeps her true and brave amidst the

1 An Idyl of the Spring. London: Burns and Oates, Limited, 1892.

² A Sevenfold Treasure. Stories on the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. No. I. Sophy's Secret. No. V. Kitty's Campaign. By Louisa Emily Dobrée. London: Catholic Truth Society.

petty torments of her position. Kitty's Campaign is the story of a young girl taken by her father's sudden death from a neighbourhood where the practice of the faith is easy, and transplanted into a Protestant family at Belfast, whose members without any intention to be unkind exercise their young visitor's attachment to her faith in many ways.

II.—MAGAZINES.

The opening article in the Études for November comments on the recent discussion amongst the members of the French Government concerning the advisability of including philosophy in the curriculum of secondary instruction. Amongst the diverse opinions expressed, one leading idea is manifest: the desire to eliminate the religious element from the system of education; and in admitting philosophy into the programme of studies for the lycées, the apparent object is to train the student not in correct thought, but in free thought. The view taken by Mgr. Freppel of the changes in the form of Government, the part he thought it his duty to take in politics, and the influence he exercised as a member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1880 until his death in 1891, is the subject of the chapter of his biography now before us. The fertility and spontaneous productiveness of the Land of Promise, contrasted in the books of Moses with the Land of Bondage, is so unlike the respective condition of Palestine and Egypt at the present time as to suggest inquiry as to why it should be thus. The subject is treated in a very interesting manner by Father Delattre in the first of a series of articles. The Apotheosis of Renan is the topic of a lengthy paper from the pen of Father Delaporte. It is sad to see an apostate, the enemy of Jesus Christ, receiving such an ovation from the sons of France; the more so because neither his literary powers, his learning, nor his personal character, are of sufficiently high order to account for the influence he exercised and the eulogies he elicited. The presence of Zola at Lourdes has given rise to surmises of the most various nature as to the result of his visit to the banks of the Gave. He asserts himself to be in search of simple truth, but curiosity and proud scorn of the supernatural are the motives actuating him. Father Martin remarks that, considering the antecedents of the novelist,

the flattering attentions, he had almost said the homage, he received at the shrine of Mary Immaculate are strangely misplaced. As arrangements have been made for the publication of the forthcoming novel in the pages of the Gil Blas, a periodical which makes a trade of pornographie and is a disgrace to the press of our day, we can only expect such a volume as will make Christians weep. In his third article on Oxford, Father Prat explains the collegiate system and the organization of the English University, suggesting that in many points they might be imitated with advantage in France.

In the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach for November, the final number for the year, Father Pesch concludes his exposition of the obvious errors and fallacies in the programme of the socialists who desire a complete remodelling of the existing order of things. The laws they lay down are at variance with facts and with the experience of daily life, and were their dreams realized, the State of the future would quickly fall to pieces through the absence of all justice in its fabric. Father Zimmerman deplores the lack of a straightforward and accurate narrative of the events of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the relation in which she stood to her contemporaries. The account of this period given by Brosch in the sixth volume of his History of England is most misleading, as the author suppresses or misrepresents whatever is at variance with his ideal of the character of the monarch herself, and the welfare of the kingdom under her rule. The conclusion of the article on the modern theory of the development of metaphysical thought when unshackled by dogmatic teaching, shows that the apostles of this doctrine admit that they can attain proximate certainty alone, not absolute truth. But they assert that this is equally true in regard to exact science and to religion as to philosophy, thus proving that the independence of human reason leads to universal doubt and scepticism. Father Dreves remarks upon and accounts for the scarcity of hymns in honour to St. Cecilia. The Latin Church possesses no early songs addressed to the Saint, but in the time-honoured Hymnal of Monte Cassino one is found which dates from the tenth century. Another of southern French origin, of about the same time, is given, and also a third of equal if not greater antiquity, taken from the Mozarabic Liturgy for the 22nd of November. The translation of these beautiful hymns is extremely good. A visit to the Abbey of Monte Cassino, where

St. Benedict and St. Scholastica are interred, reveals many mediæval art treasures of which little is known. Of these Father Beissel contributes a description, besides an interesting account of the history of the abbey. The church is rich in marbles, inlaid work, and paintings. Father Baumgartner, writing on the classics of the ancient Indian stage, gives an analysis of three of the principal works of the leading dramatists, from which an excellent general idea of these fanciful productions can be gained. In the original they contain much that is offensive to good taste, and their literary merit is somewhat overrated in Germany at present.

Dr. Bellesheim's success in compiling a memoir of Cardinal Manning leads him to publish in the pages of the Katholik (November and December) the biography of another illustrious English prelate, the late Bishop Ullathorne. A short article on labour as part of the monastic rule, suggested by Cassian's work, De Canobiorum Institutis, demonstrates the importance of monastic institutions in early times, not only as being the home of learning and culture, but on account of the dignity and value attached to manual labour as practised among the monks, whereby they became a means of promoting social order and raising the lower orders. The works of a Lutheran ecclesiastic, one of the most esteemed theologians of Scandinavia, are reviewed in the Katholik. The correctness of the conception formed by this writer of the constitutions of the visible Church, and of what her relation to the State should be, make it difficult to believe that he is outside her pale; and we hail with joy such utterances as awakening a hope that the Protestants of the north may return to the allegiance they have unhappily cast off. The attention of the reader is directed to a modern religious artist, Franz Plattner, of the school of Cornelius and Führich. He is said to be worthy to compare with these great painters, but his name is little known, on account of his having dedicated his talents to the decoration of the village churches of the Tyrol, his native land. The subjects he chose for his pencil are almost exclusively Biblical or hagiographical, with the exception of a few portraits. Dr. Ehrhard's monograph on the portal of St. Sabina's in Rome will be read with interest. He communicates the result of a careful study of the meaning of the existing bas-reliefs, the probable subjects of the missing ones, their original order, their antiquity, and the teaching they should convey to us.

The Civiltà Cattolica (1019) devotes a considerable portion of its pages to a refutation of the statements made by the writer of an article in the Contemporary Review of last October, entitled the Policy of the Pope. The object of this paper is said to be malicious, the arguments fallacious, the conclusions unproved. It is intended to discredit the Papacy in the eyes of the world; the authorship is ascribed to a diplomatist who strenuously advocates the Triple Alliance. The Editor of the Civiltà makes the usual annual appeal on behalf of the oppressed and impoverished nuns of Italy. Some extracts from their letters give a touching picture of the sufferings imposed on these patient religious by an anti-Christian Government, whose exactions have deprived them of the means of obtaining the bare necessaries of life. Another instalment of the history of sacred music and its subjection to ecclesiastical authority, points out the defects, some more apparent than real, of compositions of the Flemish school, many of which are still preserved either in MS. or in print.

The method of administration of the Patrimony of St. Peter, its social importance, the condition of the agricultural labourers on the ecclesiastical lands, and the attitude of the Church in regard to slavery, forms the subject of another chapter in the history of the Pontificate of Gregory the Great. The writer of a short essay on optics, from both a physiological and artistic standpoint, descants on the singular structure the human eye presents, and the impossibility of making any instrument to compete with the work of nature. The Natural Science Notes (No. 1020) treat of astronomical topics: viz., the discovery of a fifth satellite of the planet Jupiter, its small size and rapid motion; the important services rendered to science by the colossal telescopes of Washington and Lick Observatory; the advantages of erecting observatories on an elevated situation.

